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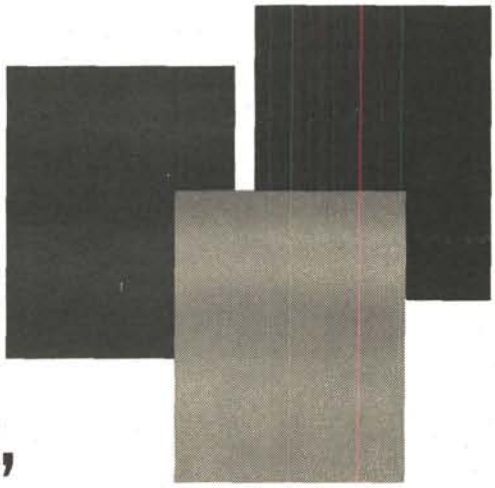

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—Deputy Robert Chambeiron. *Journal Officiel:* January 27, 1950.*

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

The GOP Albatross

★ The explanation of Everett Dirksen, we believe, is that he doesn't ever expect to see his party capture the Presidency – and doesn't very much care. He is snug and cozy as it is. He is cozy with conservative/corporate campaign contributors who keep him and his Old Guard Republicans in their safe seats, and he is cozy with President Johnson, to whom he delivers occasional support on civil rights, or on international affairs when Jerry Ford gets obstreperous. As master of low comedy, Dirksen gets reams of publicity, which he likes; and he can peddle his great influence to his conservative clients: influence nearly always on the obstructive side.

Everybody is in his debt; the White House on one side; reactionary business, industrial and farm elements on the other. He is sitting pretty. He is also, we think, the heaviest albatross hung around the neck of the GOP.

This is a confused and contradictory relationship, but we think a thread runs through it. Let's go back to the episode when Dirksen tried in June 1962 to knife the Kefauver reform health act. We wrote about it two weeks ago. He would have won but for the thalidomide scandal.

The affluent drug lobby wanted the Kefauver measure killed or neutralized; Senators Dirksen, Eastland and Hruska, at a private meeting with HEW representatives, emasculated the bill. Dirksen simply told Kefauver that was all he could get. It was a brilliant example of influence brokerage, thwarted only by a fluke. Certainly Dirksen's clients couldn't have blamed him for thalidomide and those deformed babies. Old Ev had done *his* best.

If there is one thing the moribund Republican party needs it is to widen its base; win over the cities. It is in such a sorry fix that we only have 1½-party government. But how can the multitude support the GOP with a spectacle like that in the Senate last week – Dirksen fronting for the NAM, the C of C, the Farm Bureau and anti-civil rights elements everywhere – by trying to undercut reapportionment? Every vested corporate interest loves rotten boroughs. Dirksen is on their side.

The absurdity of it is, of course, that reapportionment will help Republicans in the suburbs; the fastest growing and most malapportioned areas in the body politic. White-maned Paul Douglas stood in the well of the Senate last week, just before the vote, and made a splendid speech. It was cool and measured and gave the impression of a reasonable man, speaking with command and authority. And he pointed out that in Chicago, in a given period, the suburbs had increased their population 72 percent, while the central city had diminished 2 percent. This was in reply to the Dirksen argument that reapportionment means "big city (Democratic) rule."

Majority Rule

★ A majority of senators voted for the Dirksen constitutional amendment, (55-38). This was seven votes less than the two-thirds required. We hear the Douglas forces taunted because they won with only a minority. This is pretty silly. For historical reasons, the US Senate is the most malapportioned legislative chamber in any democratic government. It is filled with rotten boroughs. For example, both senators from Nevada (population 290,000) voted with Dirksen; both senators from New York (population 17,000,000) voted with Douglas. Theoretically this was a tie, but on the basis of 1-man, 1-vote this was a population majority of 30-to-1 votes for fair apportionment. The two-thirds majority rule is a very wise provision when you come to the mischievous constitutional power of the small states.

We could go on citing instances of Dirksen peddling his obstructive influence to the advantage of his conservative GOP wing in Congress and the disadvantage of his party in the nation. Probably the last thing GOP chairman Ray Bliss wanted was a big fight against the unions over Section 14(b). The same symbolistic issue knocked off Senator Bricker in Ohio and Senator Knowland in California. But Bliss and Dirksen have different approaches. Bliss is trying to build up the national party; Dirksen is bound up with his little band in Congress. Bliss hopes that some day Republicans might again win cities, unions, a national election; Dirksen probably never expects to see it.

But now we come to the other side of Senator Dirksen. House GOP leader Gerald Ford of Michigan isn't what you would call, perhaps, an intellectual, but he is young and forthright and would like some day to be Speaker or Vice President, and he hasn't accommodated himself to endless Republican defeat. So he is right in there pitching politically. The big issue this fall – Vietnam? It has seemed inevitable for a year.

Ford has the directness of a water buffalo. So he came out with his charges of "national scandal," "shocking mismanagement," "national crisis" and what-not. We deplore this kind of thing, no matter how we feel about Vietnam but – well, it's politics; and Democrats aren't too tender, either.

Anyway, here comes Old Ev, trying to soothe down his younger partner. Patriot – ? Sure, Dirksen is a patriot, and besides that it's nice to do an occasional favor for Mr. Johnson, like helping him to smother the Bobby Baker case. Who knows what motivates him? He's been on every side of every issue, the whirling dervish of politics. But if he did not sit cozy with the White House he could not sit half so cozy with his conservative campaign contributors. This unites him and Ford; essentially they oppose change. That's fine for the rich in America, but for the poor the status is nothing to quo about.

We think US policy toward Vietnam is loosening. It may be make-believe; it hasn't reached the air war yet. Messrs. Rusk, Goldberg and McNamara have all stated recently that if South Vietnam holds an election and wants the US out, we will go. It will be terribly hard to hold an honest election, but if a genuine statement of views is achieved, America's relationship will be on a more legitimate basis.

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By or for the Poor?

Sargent Shriver should have known better than to tell a roomful of disaffected poor people that his Office of Economic Opportunity is making substantial headway in curing poverty in their home towns. They know better, and they responded by practically booing him off the stage at the annual meeting in Washington of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. The statistics he quoted –776,000 children in Head Start, $32 million in aid to Mississippi, 25,000 youths at Job Corps camps – are accurate but not descriptive. The figures do not tell who controls, works at, and goes to the pre-schools (or how the children in them are to be boosted out of poverty). They do not tell how wisely the Mississippi money is being spent, or what jobs there are for Job Corpsmen. Jack Conway, Shriver's former deputy and one of his hosts at the meeting, said later: "Shriver was trying to overwhelm them with success statistics. They released their anger and their deepest frustrations at not seeing results."

Shriver would rather believe that the heckling was the work of a few unrepresentative malcontents; he hinted that they were probably against the US position in Vietnam too – a measure perhaps of their unpatriotism. But they are not so conveniently dismissed. The CCAP convention was the first national platform for the "organized poor," people from rural slums and urban ghettoes who are the forward edge of the antipoverty war. Shriver used to promote "community action." His hecklers were the very activists his rhetoric has spawned. There was Barbara Taylor, a young Washington Negro from a slum housing project, who now works for the local poverty program; Lillian Craig, a (white) mother of three, who has joined a community organizing project helping "poor whites" in Cleveland; Chester Robinson of Chicago, Unita Blackwell of Mississippi, Johnnie Tillman of Watts, Allen Moore of Bedford-Stuyvesant, Sioux Vargas of Chicago, "Judge" Davis of Harlem – they are among the poor who had been moved to do something by OEO, and then let down.

Community action is dying in Shriver's office. Big-city mayors are allowed to consolidate their control over local programs. In Mississippi, as Christopher Jencks pointed out in these pages (*NR*, April 16), last year's segregationists are this year's "moderates," and they are commandeering antipoverty projects to keep an upper hand over restless Negroes. The disinterested outsider can sympathize with Shriver's administrative problems, for the political pressures on him are enormous. But the poor owe him no special consideration; he is

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buckling under, and they are sore.

The heart of the problem is that ripening chestnut, "maximum feasible participation" of the people in programs intended to lift them out of their poverty. The task force which set up OEO saw that decades of public welfare, make-work jobs, slum clearance, and housing projects had done little to break the poverty cycle. How could the perennial victims of poverty be engaged in their own amelioration? The gap between those at the bottom and the rest of society was widening over the years, not closing. What was new and exciting about the War on Poverty was that it gave hope of putting some political and economic power into the hands of the "under-class" of the poor, as labor legislation had strengthened the bargaining power of workers three decades earlier. Through the Wagner Act, the workers got *recognition;* they used their new power to win economic benefits. In the same way, the maximum feasible participation clause in the OEO legislation promised recognition and thus power to the poor. In one of the few places it has been applied – the Child Development Group of Mississippi pre-school program – impoverished, uneducated Negroes run a huge statewide school system. They get money, useful jobs, and prerogatives of hiring and firing. Their lives have changed, they have new importance, they are treated with respect. They take an interest in politics, and when they get kicked around, they know who their enemies are – who the men are behind the bullying sheriff or the plantation owner. They may kick back.

But hitherto there has been no popular, national support for "maximum participation," no organized effort as there was to push for labor or civil rights legislation. Richard Boone, formerly head of Community Action at OEO, left to direct the Citizens Crusade for that reason: to help form a movement of the poor, and then give it a Washington political base, and a pool of money and professional help. His organization seems to be starting sooner, and more explosively than he had perhaps hoped. The poor who were brought by his Crusade to Washington to testify to their condition were already moving to change it. They grabbed the Crusade meeting as their platform; to them it was not just another round of "workshops" and rhetoric: "I am tired of beautiful speeches," Mrs. Blackwell said.

Shriver's speechwriter, Edgar Cahn, had written an original draft for his boss that was much more candid about the problems of the OEO. But when tension among the poor started building up on the first day of the meeting, Shriver ordered a "tough" new defensive version. Thereupon, the poor in his audience bypassed their professional "brokers" – the coalition of labor, church, civil rights, and Democratic leaders who have been acting as middlemen in social conflicts for the last 20 years. The people for whom this War is presumably being fought wanted, and got, a direct confrontation. Progressive leaders in Washington have been fighting to get for themselves some share of the emerging power of Negroes and the poor. These leaders perceive themselves as the agents of change, for that has been their past role. They reckon that their own endeavors for social justice – in the church, in the unions, in the Democratic Party, in the national civil rights groups – make them the natural allies of the "under-class." Not surprisingly, therefore, it was Walter Reuther who formulated the plan for the Citizens Crusade, in June of 1963. President Kennedy had called the top liberal leaders to the White House to ask support for his post-Birmingham civil rights policy. The unity he sought did not emerge. NAACP chief Roy Wilkins and Reuther became locked in a long power struggle over the franchise for "brokerage" rights in the civil rights conflict; Wilkins won. He was to be the controlling figure in a coalition that became the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Reuther then set up the Crusade.

But whom would the Crusade represent? There has not been – at least until very recently – any broad-based antipoverty constituency. Moreover, Reuther's interests could conceivably conflict with those of the poor. In some instances those without jobs or money have to fight labor unions for work or political influence. In Cleveland, for example, the United Automobile Workers leadership led a vicious "backlash" campaign against the Negro candidate for mayor, Carl Stokes, who was closely aligned with civil rights and antipoverty forces. Workers securely planted in the middle-class may not look kindly on the struggles of the poor. For it is widely assumed that the poor are poor because they deserve to be, because they are shiftless or they are stupid. It is enough to make their lives tolerable; no need to give them a share in power; indeed it might be dangerous to do so. The liberal coalition leaders would like to harness the force of protest from below to elect candidates, strengthen unions, or simply put the fear of violence behind their own demands. But they are not at all sure they want an independent force on their hands.

Now there is talk of a "poor people's conference" this summer. Some of the older "middlemen" are arguing against the idea, but Boone sees it as a way to begin consolidating the incipient antipoverty movement. The conference is a worthwhile idea. If the Crusade officials in Washington let the organization of the poor move at its own speed and style, it could provide a useful whip and spur to the "official" War on Poverty, just as the civil rights movement prods and helps shape the government's integration policy. Sargent Shriver may be in for a lot more heckling. He and we shall be none the worse for it. *Politesse* in the Capital may suffer; the poor won't.

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Is Dodd Dead?

The Senate Ethics Committee is checking charges that Senator Thomas Dodd (D, Conn.) has received since 1961 $100,000 or so on which he paid no income tax. It is alleged that a 1961 testimonial dinner netted $54,555.58 and a "Dodd Day" jamboree in 1963 $47,000. There have been subsequent fund-raising affairs; amounts raised have not yet been made public.

For what purpose was this money solicited and given? Senator Dodd's office states that the '61 and '63 contributions were gifts for the Senator's personal use. They were *not*, they say, campaign contributions. It is very hard, they point out, for a Senator to make do on his ordinary income – which in Dodd's case is a $30,000 salary, plus some thousands of dollars a year from lecture fees and fees from his former law firm (over $61,000 from the latter in 1961, according to Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson). All Senators also have, at federal expense, Washington staffs, supplies, telephones and telegraph privileges, an office in their states and six trips a year back home. An associate of the Senator says that, "testimonial dinners like these enable a poor man to stay in office. They're part of the American way of life."

If Senator Dodd's perilous financial position was the result of heavy campaign expenses, and if the money had been raised for that purpose, no question would arise. Appeals to help pay off campaign debts are customary; there would be no tax. But that purpose is not claimed here. Allegedly, the money was a pure gift.

But what is a "gift"? The Internal Revenue Service says that "if a fund-raising activity – such as a testimonial dinner – is held to honor an individual and to provide a gift out of respect, in appreciation of public service, or similar non-political motives, and the donors intend the money as such a gift the funds are not taxable to the recipient." Whether the individuals and business corporations who forked over for these various Dodd "testimonials" were inspired by "non-political motives" is an interesting question.

The Senator's defense is somewhat compromised also by the fact that the principal newspaper in the town where the affair was held, the *Hartford Courant*, described the 1961 dinner as a way of helping Dodd "raise a war chest for his renomination and re-election campaign." If that was its purpose, and Dodd used the funds for his personal use, he is a tax evader. Columnists Pearson and Anderson have also quoted from a letter they say was written by the Senator to the main speaker at the 1963 dinner, telling him "how much it will assist me in getting my campaign drive underway." Is there not some presumption, therefore, that those in attendance believed that they were making a political contribution, and not merely a personal gift to the Senator out of affection or admiration?

The most recent Supreme Court decision on this question of when a gift is or is not subject to income tax was handed down in October, 1959. In the Duberstein case, a businessman who had received a Cadillac as a "gift" from a friend and business associate did not include it as income for tax purposes. The Court ruled that it was. Justice Brennan, delivering the opinion of the Court, referred to various precedents in noting that "a gift in the statutory sense . . . proceeds from a 'detached and disinterested generosity' and 'out of affection, respect, admiration, charity or like impulse'."

Senator Dodd has some explaining to do. The soliciting of large amounts of money for a Senator's private use is not "the American way." Many politicians are hard-pressed financially; not all of them supplement their personal incomes by obtaining thousands of tax-free dollars. And not many would claim that those who give such funds do so with no thought of payment for past services or an expectation of future favors.

Perhaps the Senate Ethics Committee will energetically pursue this inquiry. But some note of cynicism is inevitable. The comparable "Nixon Fund" ($18,000) did not kill Richard Nixon politically. The larger "Dodd Fund" will probably not kill Dodd politically either. It may be, as Senator Young (D, Ohio) has said, that "the integrity and dignity of the US Senate is at stake." But it is not the first time, not the last. And it cannot be ignored that any action against the Senator for tax evasion would have to come from the Internal Revenue Service, which in turn might well defer to the Attorney General, who in turn might feel obliged to consult the White House. Chief speaker at the Dodd testimonials in '61 and '63 was Lyndon B. Johnson.

Vietnam Confusion

"The war fever is growing," said Senator Fulbright last week. So is confusion over Vietnam. Defense Secretary McNamara flatly told Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee that Hanoi is running the whole Viet Cong show and is the aggressor. Hours before, the White House, the Department of State and Arthur Goldberg had given their blessing to a proposal by Senator Mansfield to try to include the Viet Cong in peace talks. Why bother, if they are dummies of Hanoi?

"We support the idea of elections in the South," Secretary Rusk told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, adding that this country has "no objection" if the South Vietnamese, in the elections that are scheduled to take place by August, choose a "truly non-aligned course." However, Rusk mystifyingly added that "non-alignment" was not the same as "neutral-

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ity"; and the Ky government in Saigon has agreed (at the behest of a political convention whose members the Ky government nominated) to take steps to prevent "Communists and neutralists" from "infiltrating" the national constituent assembly. Yet McNamara told the Senators, "I am sure the government of South Vietnam would welcome them [the Viet Cong] as voters."

According to Thich Tri Quang, the Buddhist leader held chiefly responsible for forcing the Ky government to agree to having elections this year, the national assembly, when elected, will help South Vietnam against "Communism and colonialism." He has also told his followers that South Vietnam is being "oppressed" by "the Communists and the Americans."

In this situation, a wise Administration would hold the line until things sorted themselves out. Vietnamese military units are reported to be going slow; the Viet Cong are likewise said to be waiting on events and avoiding battle. But American ground forces are apparently fighting as hard as ever, losing more men than are South Vietnamese units; and the air war is intensifying. Each day, US bombers hit nearer the urban cores of Hanoi and Haiphong. McNamara's operational plans call for dropping 638,000 tons of bombs on Vietnam this year; he boasted to the Foreign Relations Committee that this is 91 percent of the tonnage dropped during the three-year Korean War. It seems very much as though the Administration, behind its clouds of confusion and its euphoric smokescreens, is afraid the South Vietnamese are about to ask this country to get out, and sees as the only chance of averting this a smashing military victory achieved by weight of bombs on the North.

Udall and the Indians

The Secretary of Interior has appointed a new Commissioner of Indian Affairs and is taking a personal interest in reinvigorating policies he set in motion five years ago. There is little dispute over Mr. Udall's purpose – helping 380,000 Indians who live on reservations turn these depressing places into viable communities that are a genuine part of the life of the states. But progress has been slow: The Indian rate of unemployment is 10 times the national average; an Indian family exists on an income of $1,500 a year on average; most adults haven't got through the fifth grade.

Phileo Nash, who had been named Indian Commissioner by President Kennedy, was recently squeezed out. Udall's office believed that Nash had succumbed to the bureaucratic stupor of the Indian service. Nash resisted removal, and after an unsuccessful effort to fob him off as Governor of Guam, he was sent on a mission to India. Robert L. Bennett, the new commissioner, is an Oneida Indian and the second Indian to command the Bureau in its 142-year history. He previously managed the Bureau affairs in Alaska where he caught Udall's attention for the adroit way he handled the state congressional delegation.

With Bennett in charge, Udall wants to reorganize the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This could mean only that inert bodies will be placed into different offices. However, Udall says he means reorganization. He wants, for one thing, to elevate the role of education; he hopes to find a good man from outside the government to be the Bureau's new assistant commissioner for education. It would be wise as well for the Bureau to contract out with competent universities the operation of some of its reservation schools, thereby enlisting some energetic and intelligent people directly in helping the Indians build up their communities. The Indian Bureau has not done very well in getting industries to set up factories on reservations, possibly because there are those in the Bureau who still believe Indians are capable only of putting on festivals for tourists. Udall wants to get big companies to place executives on reservation boards of directors, where they can sit down with the Indians and guide them in developing business. A tax incentive would probably be a much quicker way of getting industry on to reservations.

All such well-intentioned reforms will not come to much, however, unless the Indians themselves take hold and give direction to their affairs. There are some signs this may happen. The National Indian Youth Council, an activist organization of 3,000 young Indians, raises money to send Indian students off to good schools. It is also leading a fight going on in Washington to prevent the government's abrogating fishing rights guaranteed the Indians in an 1854 treaty.

In exchange for much of the land that now is Washington state, Indians were granted rights to fish the rivers. The Nisqually and Puyallup Indians make a living netting the salmon as they swim up the rivers to spawn. But the state has claimed the Indians are ruining the fish supply; it wants them to conform to state game laws which outlaw the netting of fish on rivers; conformity for the Indians means going out of business. Moreover, the Indians feel they are being asked to stop netting so that an adequate supply of fish will be reserved for other commercial and sport fishermen. They point out that young fish, as they swim down the rivers, die from pollution, but nothing happens to the polluters. Why should the Indians be made the scapegoat? Marlon Brando, Dick Gregory, CORE, and the American Civil Liberties Union all have entered the fight on the side of the Indians. There have been "fish-ins," to protest the state laws and fist fights between Indians and state game officials. Attorneys for the ACLU will seek a final solution in the Supreme Court.

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Damming the Grand Canyon For a Thirsty Southwest

Tucson, Arizona, is the largest city in the world getting its water exclusively from wells. The city pumps water from underground, as must other parts of the state, because surface supplies are not adequate. Since the early 1940's more water has been sucked out of the ground than has been replaced; the water table has been gradually lowered and pumping costs have risen. More than 320,000 of the state's 1.2 million irrigated acres have been taken out of cultivation for lack of water and increased pumping costs. Projections indicate that within half a century Arizona's growing industry will need all of the state's present renewable water supply, just for itself.

There is a way out. The Central Arizona Project – if it is ever constructed – will bring more than a million acre-feet of Colorado River water annually to arid central and southern Arizona. The 400-mile system of aqueducts and pumping stations would transport the water to serve Tucson, Phoenix and nearby industrial and agricultural users. But if the project finally is approved by Congress this year, it may be at the expense of the natural beauty of the Grand Canyon. For the program would be financed in part by power generated by two proposed hydroelectric dams at either end of the Canyon.

The Central Arizona Project has been discussed and disputed for more than 20 years. CAP bills twice passed the Senate, in 1950 and 1951, but never made it through the House. As the House Reclamation Subcommittee prepares for more hearings on the project next month, passage remains in doubt.

Two things have blocked the Central Arizona Project – Arizona's longstanding dispute with California and the Upper Basin states over water rights to the Colorado River, and opposition from conservationists to construction of Bridge and Marble Canyon dams. California is no longer kicking up a fuss, since backers of the project have conceded California its rights to 4.4 million acre-feet of Colorado River water each year. And the Upper Basin states are slightly less wary that new demands on the Colorado in the Lower Basin will take away water that Colorado, Wyoming, New Mexico and Utah may sometime need. The most strenuous remaining opposition comes from those resisting the desecration of the Grand Canyon.

Marble Canyon dam and reservoir would be located 12½ miles above the upstream (northestern) boundary of Grand Canyon National Park. Bridge Canyon dam, at the southwest end of the canyon 2½ miles upstream from Lake Mead, would back up water for 93 miles – through the entire length of the Grand Canyon National Monument and 13 miles into the National Park. The conservationist Sierra Club insists that Bridge Canyon dam would "halt the processes that created the Canyon, and turn a living laboratory of stream erosion into a static museum piece. It would flood the habitat of wildlife that through the ages has depended on the living river for its own life. It would make invaluable archaeological and geological records inaccessible. It would inundate campsites on beaches and sandbars, and the sheer walls of the new shoreline would offer no substitute. Fluctuations in reservoir level would stain the walls between high and low water. Dam-builders' access roads would disfigure the scene, as would transmission lines. And dams in Grand Canyon would extinguish for all time one of the great experiences available to modern man: the boat trip on the living river through the whole length of the Canyon from Lee's Ferry to Grand Wash Cliffs at the head of Lake Mead."

The conservationists contend that the construction of Bridge Canyon dam would be illegal, violating the 1919 act creating the national park. A provision of the act permits the Secretary of Interior, "whenever consistent with the primary purposes" of the park, "to permit the utilization of [canyon] areas which may be necessary for the development and maintenance of a government reclamation project." The Sierra Club says the two proposed dams are 1) destructive of scenery and wildlife and hence not consistent with the "purposes" of the park, 2) not necessary, and 3) not reclamation projects. The Canyon should not be violated, the conservationists say, so long as alternative means exist for financing CAP.

The proposed dams at Bridge Canyon and Marble Canyon would generate peaking power which would be sold to pay for building the dams themselves. Once they have been paid off, in about 50 years, the revenue from power would go to underwrite the CAP diversion system. By the year 2026, when the dams in effect begin paying for CAP, they may be obsolete; nuclear power may by then have stolen the market. Conservationists insist that other means, including fossil-fuel steam generating plants, would be preferable alternative sources of revenue for CAP – sources which would not require construction in the Grand Canyon.

Under pressure from the Sierra Club and other groups, the Budget Bureau last year recommended deferring consideration of Bridge Canyon dam, the more objectionable of the two. But the Administration's apparent disfavor has not kept Bridge from creeping back into the revised authorization bill being considered this session of Congress.

David Sanford

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Why French Troops Are Wanted

The Sense of Insecurity In West Germany

Bonn

"West Germany is a small country, only 200 miles wide. In case of a Soviet attack it will have to be defended from the outside. Our air force will have to operate from Spain or Portugal; both are willing to grant us bases there and our training program could start soon. But what will happen should de Gaulle refuse us the right of overfly? Even our training base in Italy, on the island of Sardinia, will no longer be usable. We need the French hinterland for our defense."

That's the talk here explaining why West Germany accepted de Gaulle's offer to negotiate the continuing presence of French troops in Germany in spite of France's withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. German acceptance of de Gaulle's offer didn't particularly please Washington, and if French troops remain on West German territory after France has left NATO, this will look to many Germans like a return to a period of occupation, giving France a superior status and helping de Gaulle's scheme of making his country the uncontested leader of Western Europe. But it's imperative for Germany that the number of Allied troops in Germany should not be drastically cut, and the United States is transferring 15,000 American troops, perhaps the cream of its six divisions in Europe, to Vietnam. Should the 70,000 troops that France has now on German soil be withdrawn, who will replace them? The answer is: nobody.

The two French divisions represent only about 10 percent of the total NATO forces in Germany, but the two divisions have recently been modernized and represent a potentially serious force. For a long time the Bonn government wanted them moved close to the border of East Germany; Paris always made the excuse that there are no good barracks there. But Bonn has reason to be well satisfied with the geographic location of other French units on German soil. All the air defenses of Bavaria and a substantial part of other areas in South Germany are manned by French anti-aircraft formations armed with Hawk missiles, and there are excellent French radar units and squadrons of interception planes. In radar installations alone, the French maintain in Germany over 1,000 experts who cannot be replaced.

The Germans, like other Europeans, don't expect a Soviet attack in the foreseeable future, but the whole existence of West Germany is based on the conviction that she has strong friends, stronger than her enemies, and that they will rush to her defense at the first sign of danger. The presence of American, British and French troops on German soil is a material proof of this, and anything which makes this proof less evident, less convincing, is considered by the Germans as a first-class disaster. Withdrawal of French troops would be so regarded, especially when the Germans believe rumors that soon entire American divisions will be transferred from Europe to Vietnam.

The feeling that de Gaulle holds trump cards, and doubts about the solidity of US support, are what now dictate Bonn's policy. But the German policymakers hope, and even believe, that the US will also decide finally to begin bilateral talks with de Gaulle. The Germans think negotiations will be lengthy; they suspect the French will not be in a hurry. They say it would be good if the Americans adopted the same tactic. They suspect that de Gaulle's dramatic gestures were made more to force Washington into negotiations, and on subjects outside the limit of the present Atlantic alliance, than to get a few thousand American troops out of France.

The continuing presence of French troops on the soil of Germany could be balanced, on paper at least, by the presence of a few German battalions on French soil, undergoing training there, which is exactly what has been going on for several years now. The main difficulty would not be German-French agreement over stationing of troops on each other's territory, but common strategy for the defense of Germany, because this cannot be only a Franco-German affair, but involves the Americans, the British, and other Allies with troops in Germany. A kind of "little NATO" limited to the defense of Germany in practice could be at least a stopgap solution.

If there are important people in Washington who believe the best reply to de Gaulle is to ignore him and continue a "business as usual" attitude in NATO, they have no counterpart in Bonn. The German communiqué expressing willingness to start bilateral talks with France contained a reference to the treaty concluded between de Gaulle and Adenauer on January 22, 1963, which remained a "*chiffon de papier*," since the old Chancellor resigned shortly afterwards. Until now the agreement had not been mentioned again. But it looks as if the leaders in Bonn, however much they may distrust de Gaulle, have decided that they have no choice but to enter into a kind of partnership with him. It may not be a marriage of love, or one that Washington will approve. But compelling reasons may force the Germans into it.

PHILIP BEN

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Indonesia for Indonesians

There has been some over-optimistic thinking abroad about what the latest Indonesian upheaval may mean. For a start, although the new regime appears to be taking hold, there is no guarantee it cannot come unstuck. The assassination of General Suharto could plunge Indonesia into new and unpredictable chaos.

President Sukarno is still around, still protesting that he is the real power in Indonesia, and presumably still pondering a comeback which would lend truth to that boast. There are good grounds for believing that in the week after he transferred power to General Suharto, President Sukarno issued a new secret order canceling the transfer, and encouraging the air force, marines and police to challenge the army's authority – encouragement which these forces failed to heed.

True, former deputy premier Subandrio, the *éminence rouge* at Sukarno's side, is for the moment neutralized. But if the army were careless, and Dr. Subandrio gained power again, he could make what has happened recently in Indonesia look like a game of tiddlywinks. Estimates of the numbers of people butchered in revenge for the Communist killings of army generals range up to 500,000.

Then, the Suharto regime is not entirely without challenge from the new order, as well as the old. The students whose street demonstrations were the catalyst for change are not entirely happy with the new cabinet. And on the economic front they want progress fast. If they do not get it, they may yet be out on the streets again, this time demonstrating against the army's handling of events.

During the months when Indonesia's Communist Party leader Dipa Nusantara Aidit was at his peak, anti-Westernism, and particularly anti-Americanism, was pumped with Dr. Sukarno's acquiescence into the mainstream of Indonesian life. With the Communists no longer manning the propaganda pumps, much of this will now dry up. But Indonesia will still be genuinely nationalistic, intensely anti-colonialist, and quick to resent racial domination.

It is true that many Indonesian army officers have trained in the United States and are friendly with Americans. But even if they desire a pro-Western course for their country, it is politically impossible for them to advocate it.

The students who demonstrated in the streets for the eclipse of the old order have not abandoned their revolutionary feeling. Their disillusionment with the old order stems from their belief that the old leaders have themselves abandoned the revolution by committing it too deeply to Peking, and by failing to achieve the revolution's promised economic goals. Thus at the peak of the recent crisis, students who were marching angrily off to burn some Communist installation, or to batter some crypto-Communist cabinet minister, turned on the handful of Western correspondents following their progress, and roughed them up.

Moving through one of these student crowds was like moving through eddies of hot and cold water. Here a group would say: "You may take pictures, because the world outside must know the truth of what is going on in Indonesia." A little further on, our cameras would be seized and our bodies pummeled by angry young men shouting: "This is Indonesia's business. Get out. Go home, you Necolim journalists." Necolim is Indonesian shorthand for the neo-colonialists and imperialists.

True, a number of American correspondents now have been allowed to return to Indonesia, and the New China News Agency bureau has been closed. True, there has been some murmuring about aid from abroad and a few discreet comments about the possibility of Indonesia rejoining the United Nations. But this does not mean Indonesia is planning a sellout to the West.

Economically, Indonesia is broke and the quick answer to the problem is a massive injection of foreign aid. Australia has made an emergency food shipment, and Indonesia's former Dutch masters have long been quietly building an assistance program, but this is necessarily small. Obviously the new regime can expect little from Communist China. And though the Soviet Union may be tempted to fish in waters so recently emptied of Chinese Communists, Indonesia is already in hock to the Soviets for the bulk of Indonesia's foreign debts totalling $2.4 billion.

While Indonesia maintains its confrontation with Malaysia there is little that Britain can do to help. Probably the type of American aid most politically acceptable in both Washington and Jakarta would be emergency food shipments, justified on humanitarian grounds. But aside from political pressures, there are legal complications attached to congressional approval of aid for Indonesia as long as the threat of nationalization hangs over American oil installations in Indonesia. Last week, the State Department cautiously announced a 5-year, $8.2-million credit to Indonesia – at 4.75 percent interest and repayable in dollars – for the purchase of 50,000 tons of rice. The political implications were carefully minimized.

There remains Japan, which has carefully cultivated Indonesia and has a considerable stake there. Japanese trade with Indonesia rose by 40 percent last year, to a

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record $353,000,000. And from Japan will likely come aid infusion.

For the moment, Indonesia's relations with Communist China are cool, those with the Soviet Union are correct, while towards the West there is lingering wariness. It seems unlikely that the new foreign minister, Dr. Malik, is going to make any major change immediately. There may be a diplomatic break with China, but if that comes it will more likely be Peking's decision than Jakarta's. Last week, China unilaterally ended its aid agreement with Indonesia, and threatened to break all economic ties between the two countries. Dr. Malik was Indonesia's ambassador to Moscow. He sat in on the bargaining session between President Sukarno and Nikita Khrushchev. He therefore knows that the Soviets expect dividends from their aid.

Malaysia is Dr. Malik's big foreign problem. President Sukarno found confrontation a useful diversion from problems at home, and the new administration may find it similarly helpful. But many generals have long been frustrated with the indecisiveness of that campaign. Either, they have argued, Indonesia should launch a decently-organized military campaign and stop being made to look foolish, or confrontation should be called off. A formal announcement from Jakarta ending confrontation is out of the question. But if Malaysia keeps quiet, and the new regime in Jakarta gains stability, confrontation in a year's time may quietly start to fade away.

Indonesia will continue to deplore American foreign policy in Vietnam, continue to criticize racial discrimination in the American homeland, and be sharp to the West in other respects. But the significance of the recent changes is that, without any American involvement – some people say *because* of American non-involvement – Indonesia has turned its back on the excesses of Communism.

JOHN HUGHES

JOHN HUGHES, *Far Eastern correspondent of* The Christian Science Monitor, *has visited Indonesia a number of times in the past 18 months and was the only American correspondent in the country during Sukarno's "transfer" of power to General Suharto.*

Moscow – The New Party Line

by Wolfgang Leonhard

The nearly 5,000 delegates have left Moscow and returned to their homes to explain the resolutions of the Twenty-Third Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR and to apply the new guidelines. The line proclaimed attests the extent to which present Kremlin leadership must take account of different, diverging forces. The Congress clearly retreated from Khrushchev's reforms and attempted to build a link with the pre-Khrushchev Bolshevik tradition, but the leadership had to compromise about building bridges back to the era of Stalin.

This was the largest Congress in Soviet history. The Soviet Party has grown since 1956 from 6.8 to nearly 12.5 million members. Instead of the 1,355 delegates who attended the famous anti-Stalin Congress in February, 1956, this time 4,942 delegates were assembled in the Kremlin. But Party discipline has been tightened. The Party Control Committees are to play a more significant role; entry into the Party has been made more difficult, and the Party Statute (i.e., bylaws) has been made more stringent. The "rotation system" introduced under Khrushchev, which provided for periodic replacement of Party officials, has been discarded. In style, the Congress was sober and bureaucratic.

The war in Vietnam and the possibility that Western Germany may gain access to nuclear weapons had high priority. Attacks were concentrated on the US and Germany. On the other hand, the improvement in relations with France and the less substantial improvement with Japan and Italy were presented in a positive light.

The description that was given of the general world situation, with its long excursions on "the general crisis of capitalism" and "the law of the uneven development of capitalism" and of "increasing exploitation," shows a dogmatic view of international problems still prevails in the Kremlin. Not a word about automation, cybernetics, the technological revolution, the great social changes in the industrialized states of the West! Even coexistence and disarmament, the two principal foreign-political concepts of the Khrushchev era, remained al-

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most completely in the background.

Its treatment of domestic political issues revealed the concern of the Soviet leadership to keep control over the growing trend towards liberalization. The harder line springs to the eye particularly in attacks on writers and artists who favor reform. The leading role of the Party as "teacher, organizer, and leader of the entire Soviet people," was placed squarely in the foreground.

In order to galvanize the work of the Party, the top leaders, members of the Central Committee, and other prominent officials are now to speak more often on current problems at meetings of Party units. The Central Committee will regularly hear reports of *oblast* (i.e., provincial) Party secretaries. Then, too, periodic all-Party conferences, which once took place annually but have been neglected since 1941, are to be convened.

Notwithstanding this emphasis on the Party, it was simultaneously resolved to raise the authority of the Supreme Soviet, both through the establishment of new standing committees and through regular reports by the government to this body. The influence of the reformist forces was even more apparent in economic policy. The earlier exaggerated goals of the Khrushchev era were openly criticized, and the newly adopted Five-Year Plan for 1966-70 testifies to a realistic and sober assessment of Soviet economic capabilities. As compared with the past, the accent is now, more than ever before, on the production of consumer goods. While heavy industry grew by 58 percent and consumer-goods production by 36 percent in the past five years, the new Five-Year Plan provides for an increase of 49-52 percent for heavy industry and a growth of 43-46 percent for consumer-goods production. Economic reform will continue, but by no means on the scale desired by the reformers. A strengthening of centralized planning will be emphasized as much as increasing the initiative and self-sufficiency of enterprises.

The Party Congress promised larger investments in agriculture, increased deliveries of tractors and trucks, and the gradual introduction of a guaranteed monthly salary for the collective-farm peasantry. These are positive steps, but they do not represent a real change in Soviet agriculture.

Some alleviations have been promised, including a lowering of income taxes, a rise in the old-age pension, and the gradual introduction of two free days a week – while the total time worked remains the same. But these measures are far less than those contained in the 1961 Party Program, which pledged to reduce the work-week to 35 hours by 1970. No more was heard of other promises of the 1961 Program, according to which rents were to be abolished by 1980 and public transportation, as well as utilities (water, gas and heat), were to be provided free of charge.

Wide participation of delegations of foreign Communist Parties, including North Korea and North Vietnam, was doubtless a great success for Moscow. Altogether, the Soviet leaders welcomed delegations from 71 foreign Communist Parties and 11 "sympathizing" organizations. Nevertheless, not only China and Albania, but the Communist Parties of Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan, New Zealand, Burma, Nepal, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaya, the Dominican Republic, Madagascar, and Reunion, sent no delegations to Moscow.

The varied positions of foreign Communist Parties on many critical problems forced the Soviet leadership to move with utmost caution. The Moscow-Peking conflict was played down: Brezhnev said only that differences of opinion had not yet been disposed of, and that the USSR's relations with China and Albania were, "unfortunately, as unsatisfactory now as they had been earlier." The proposal to resolve these differences "on the basis of Marxism-Leninism" and, to this end, to proceed in accordance with the two international Communist resolutions of November, 1957, and December, 1960, can hardly prove effective, since the differing interpretations of Marxism-Leninism in the two declarations are themselves a significant part of the dispute.

Growing divergences in the world Communist movement were clearly voiced in the speeches of foreign

Resurrection in Russia

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Communist leaders. Representing the reformist element, the Yugoslav Rankovich praised the policy of coexistence, which was otherwise hardly mentioned. The Italian leader, Luigi Longon, spoke in the same vein, calling the policy of de-Stalinization the guideline and declaring, in unmistakable allusion to the strong attacks on Soviet writers who espouse reform, that the Italian Communist Party is for creative freedom for writers and artists. Both mentioned the independence of Communist Parties, a point that was also supported by the French Communist leader, Waldeck-Rochet. At the other end of the spectrum was the ultra-revolutionary speech of the representative of the Cuban Communist Party, who criticized the Soviet Union, indirectly but clearly, for not being willing to run some risk in order to prevent US bombing of North Vietnam.

In sum, the Twenty-Third Party Congress reflected the difficult situation of today's Kremlin leadership, beset by contradictions. This could be concealed at the Congress neither by the large number of participants nor by the success of the satellite "Luna 10." The problem of Peking remains unsolved. The growing differentiation in the world Communist movement continues. The harder line which was reached on domestic policy, and the shameful attacks on the aspirations for freedom of the Soviet intelligentsia, must be judged as signs of weakness. The new line testifies to the grotesque attempt of the Soviet leadership to continue, on the one hand, the necessary transition in the economic realm towards a modern industrial society, while, on the other, suppressing the social, political and intellectual effects of such a transition.

Big, Bigger, Biggest

American Business Goes Global

by Richard J. Barber

Just as regulation of business corporations by the states became outmoded about 50 years ago, today the global scope of commercial activity by major US and foreign companies is rendering national regulation obsolete. Right now it is inaccurate to think of most of our large corporations as "American." The oil companies, the auto, drug, and chemical producers, and the makers of computers and electrical equipment, among a host of others, are so heavily committed to foreign markets that they have in fact lost their US identity and assumed a multinational character.

With firms like Standard Oil of New Jersey, Socony Mobil, National Cash Register, Singer, Burroughs, and Colgate-Palmolive deriving more than half their income or earnings from foreign sales, and with a long list of others, including such familiar giants as Eastman Kodak, Pfizer, Caterpillar Tractor, International Harvester, Corn Products, and Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing making from 30 to 50 percent of their sales abroad, even these once-American companies are beginning to acknowledge forthrightly – indeed with a bit of pride – their new supranational status. Recently US Rubber explained why it had changed its trademark to "Uniroyal": "We have 28 research and manufacturing centers in 23 countries – we do business in 150 countries . . . Uniroyal stands for a company that is now meeting the research and manufacturing needs of the whole polyglot world. . . ."

The expanding geographic scope of business operations, accentuated in the last several years by billions of dollars in overseas commitments by American firms, poses grave political and economic questions that have yet to be confronted. The problems posed are by no means simple, but what must be grasped is that they are fundamentally *international* in character and cannot be understood or resolved if looked at in outmoded nationalistic terms.

American businesses have, of course, been engaged in foreign markets for many years (Henry Ford began producing cars at a wholly-owned plant in Manchester, England in 1911), but in the last two decades there has been an unprecedented outward rush as US firms – literally by the thousands – have made long-term commitments to foreign markets. Where our producers

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once served foreign customers primarily through exports, now they do so from plants and facilities located abroad. So powerful has been this impetus to invest in other countries that it actually differs in kind from earlier overseas business activity.

In less than ten years US direct investment abroad has skyrocketed from $25 billion to nearly $50 billion, even without allowing for another $20 billion in stock and other portfolio holdings. Between 1960 and 1965, nearly 2,200 US companies engaged in almost 6,000 separate foreign activities – mostly involving the construction of new plants or the expansion of existing operations. The familiar names of domestic corporations – usually the big and long-established, but often the small and new as well – can be seen today on factories, distribution centers, and sales offices in dozens of countries, particularly in Western Europe.

At the rate recorded in 1965, the value of our direct investment abroad increases by an average of more than $10 million each *day*. And the surge continues. In 1966 manufacturing outlays for plant and equipment in Europe are expected to rise by what the Commerce Department labels a "striking 40 percent." While the President's "voluntary" program to curtail the outflow of private capital has been moderately successful, it has obviously not retarded overseas investment; it has only caused companies to obtain their money through foreign intermediaries.

Just as our companies have greatly hiked their investment abroad, so too have foreigners sharply increased their holdings in this country. But there is a basic difference. While considerable direct foreign investment here is made by octopi like Shell and Unilever, about two-thirds of all foreign capital in the US is in corporate stocks – owned principally by Swiss, English (still true even though the British Government sold over $400 million in American corporate securities last year), and, increasingly, by mysterious Bermudian and Panamanian interests of which very little is known.

Of the $50 billion represented by US direct investment abroad, the largest percentage is found in Canada and in Europe. Together these two regions account for about 60 percent of the total. In this area – what might be termed the Atlantic Community – most of the investment is in manufacturing industries. By contrast, investment in the rest of the world consists largely of petroleum and mining assets.

One major result of soaring US direct foreign investment is that our companies now typically supply customers abroad from factories situated overseas rather than via export from domestic facilities. In 1950 foreign sales by US firms totaled approximately $37 billion. Of this, a third was supplied by exports from these shores. In 1964, by marked contrast, only about a fifth of our $110 billion in foreign sales was supplied through exports, with the rest coming from plants located in other countries. This has significantly contributed to our balance of payments difficulties by reducing our net trade surplus and has offset the $4-billion a year in income generated by our direct investments (most of which is not repatriated).

Giants and Midgets

In shifting production abroad and implementing a policy of supplying foreign markets from overseas plants, US companies have been shrewdly using their surplus resources to gain dominant positions overseas roughly equivalent to those they occupy in this country. Autos provide a good example. Long in firm control of the domestic scene (a fact which meant that auto makers earned a nearly-unbelievable 27 percent after-tax return on their net investment in 1965), the Big Three, until recently, did not so clearly command foreign markets where the rate of growth in sales has been even greater than at home. However, by investing hundreds of millions of dollars in expanding their European capacity and by acquiring control of foreign auto companies, they have now succeeded in improving their position substantially, without incurring the wrath of the antitrust agencies. In all of the European auto markets the American firms currently hold sizable shares. In England, Ford and GM challenge British Motors, and are not far ahead of Chrysler, which bought its way in by acquiring control of Rootes Motors, once a major independent factor in Britain (and, indeed, in America). In the large German auto market GM's Opel and Ford's Taunus have successfully challenged what some people thought was the impregnable position of Volkswagen. A $100 million plant being built by GM at Antwerp and a vast new Ford plant located in the Saarland will make these companies, along with Chrysler (which bought control of Simca, the French producer, in 1963), even bigger factors in European car sales. One consequence of all these moves is that Ford at present makes 40 percent of its cars outside of the US, Chrysler over 30 percent, GM 20 percent.

The arrival on the European scene of the giant US companies, bolstered by vast sums of capital and armed with advanced technological know-how that they have often acquired with the aid of federal government research and development contracts, has created severe strains within the Atlantic Alliance.

Relative to their American rivals, even the biggest

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European companies generally look like midgets. Among the world's companies, US businesses are on the average five times larger than the leading British or German corporations, and ten times larger than the French companies. Belgium's largest concern would rank only 64th among US industrial companies in terms of sales; France's number 56; Germany's number 29; and Italy's number 32. When grouped by industries the comparison is even more striking. US Steel's profits were eight times greater than those of August Thyssen-Hutte, Germany's biggest steel producer. Du Pont's profits are nearly three times those of Imperial Chemical Industries and seven times greater than those of Farbenfabriken Bayer. Similarly, General Electric towers above Philips, Siemens, and Hitachi, the three biggest foreign producers of electrical equipment. Goodyear's profits are nearly three times larger than those of the European Big Three – Dunlop, Pirelli, and Michelin – *combined*. General Motors' sales are almost nine times those of Volkswagen and are bigger than the Gross National Product of The Netherlands and well over a hundred other countries. Indeed, the aggregate sales of VW, Fiat, Daimler-Benz, British Motors, and Renault are equal to only two-thirds of Ford Motor's sales, which in turn are only a little over half those of GM.

While the full measure of American corporate strength may never be brought to bear on the European market (General Motors obviously must tend to many other areas), the mere existence of such awesome power is itself worrisome. For if General Electric can operate its foreign divisions at a loss, as it did in 1965, the threat to smaller companies is not merely hypothetical. As many Europeans see it, American entry calls for the merger of their firms to form bigger business units that can meet the Goliaths and exploit the advantages of the Common Market. "Europe will be colonized by the United States," declared Gaston Defferre in what has become a characteristic warning, "unless we decide to pool our resources in order to create industrial concerns comparable in size to the American ones and able to compete with them on an equal footing." Governments on the Continent, particularly France, have taken this advice and initiated steps to inspire mergers, and across the Channel the Labour Government has created an official agency to encourage consolidation of British companies.

Slow to start, the merger process in Europe is now moving into high gear. In many ways it is as significant as that which swept the United States in the early 1900's. In recent months dozens of major mergers have been announced and more are being discussed. In Italy, the marriage of Montecatini and Edison will unite the two companies that account for 80 percent of its chemical and petrochemical output. In Germany, Volkswagen, Auto-Union (maker of the DKW), and Daimler-Benz (maker of the Mercedes) are joining; together they will offer cars in all price ranges, just like GM, Ford, and Chrysler.

The steel industry has been distinguished by more mergers than any other. With the consolidation of Hoesch, Dortmund-Hoerder, and Holland's Hoogovens, a steel-maker with capacity of about 9 million tons will be formed, putting it on a plane with Germany's Thyssen-Hutte (itself created in 1964 and now beginning to work in close cooperation with Krupp). Meanwhile France's first- and fifth-largest steel producers, Usinor and Lorrain-Escaut, and its second- and third-largest, De Wendel and Sidelor, have combined.

These and other mergers end most national competition in the steel industry in Germany, France, and the Benelux, but when measured by a European yardstick they assume relatively smaller proportions. Big though they are, Hoesch-Dortmund and Krupp-Thyssen each account for less than 10 percent of steel output in the EEC. By American standards, where US Steel alone holds more than 25 percent of ingot capacity and the top three firms account for more than half, the European consolidations do not seem particularly foreboding. Yet this is misleading for it underestimates the extent to which some of the bigger European mergers needlessly curtail competition by coalescing firms already big enough to realize optional economies of scale. It is certainly anomalous that America, which professes more loudly than any other country its firm dedication to competition and which broke up the German steel giants during the postwar occupation, is now used as an example by the Europeans for the oligopolization of their major industries.

While the European protest against American invest-

Lowering The Tariff Barriers

While the French have recently taken a more cordial view of American investment, especially with the appointment in January of Michel Debre as Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs, there is no doubt that US business commitments in Europe greatly hinder a wide variety of economic and political negotiations. At the Kennedy Round, American bargainers, employing the tariff-cutting authority provided by the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, have found the French, and others in the European Economic Community and European Free Trade Association, exceedingly stubborn. Argue the Europeans: why should tariff barriers be reduced when this is likely only to mean an even larger American position in their markets? Economic integration has great appeal, but when it means the control of important product lines by American companies it is less attractive.

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ment may simply be, as the Atlanticist Pierre Uri has said, "the new rebirth of old-time protectionism," the French, in particular, look upon the US business invasion as economic imperialism. It is this fear which helps explain de Gaulle's concern for preservation of sovereignty and which underscores what to some appears to be little more than French obstinacy in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and at the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations.

In aggregate terms our investment in Europe is not especially large, but since most of it is in a few basic, growth-oriented industries it has posed a distinct threat to local independence. American industry in France, for instance, accounts for only about seven percent of value, added in the private sector of the economy. However, in specific industries the US share is huge. Nearly all of the computers, office machinery, photographic equipment, and synthetic rubber, and the bulk of agricultural equipment and oil and a large percentage of the prepared food, textiles, and cosmetics sold in France is American-made. The situation is much the same in Germany, where more than three-fourths of American investment is concentrated in autos (and other transportation equipment), oil, chemicals, and electrical (largely computers). As the French and Germans see it, then, some of their most important industries are increasingly dominated from across the Atlantic, putting them at the mercy of companies beyond their effective control.

As viewed by the Europeans, the most serious consequences of American investment stem from our control of those industries widely regarded as shapers of the future. In electronics, notably computers, we are far ahead of the rest of the world, a fact which can mean that other countries will fall steadily farther behind in economic and technological development. By striking up affiliations with major American electronics companies, the biggest French, German and Italian companies – Machines-Bull, Siemens, and Olivetti – have gained limited access to US know-how. Nonetheless, a great gap persists between American and European technical competence in electronics, one that is not likely to be closed as long as the federal government continues to pour billions of dollars into research carried out by private industry. In 1966, of the $21 billion which will be spent on Research and Development in the US, about 70 percent will come from government funds and two-thirds of the work itself will be carried out by the titans of industry. By contrast, France spends less than a tenth as much on R&D.

In terms of our relationships with what are politely termed the "lesser developed countries" (or LDC in current State Department jargon), American business investment presents problems no less serious. In Africa, Latin America, and Asia the complaint is much the same: the Americans (and, for that matter, the leading European companies) invest in such a way as to frustrate economic development and to deny the host countries the benefits of competition.

Most US investment in these areas is in the extractive industries – oil, copper, iron ore, cobalt, rubber, bauxite, uranium, and other minerals – and is made by consortia composed of big Western companies, most of them American. Very little capital is invested in manufacturing facilities, with the result that the underdeveloped countries fail to acquire the skills necessary to development. As things now stand, the emerging nations are caught in a serious bind: they sell their oil and minerals under conditions distinctly favorable to the buyers and purchase finished goods on terms favorable to the sellers, with their predicament aggravated by the ocean shipping conferences which are prone to rig transport rates in a fashion that still further disadvantages the new nations. Not without some justification the poor countries see themselves victimized by billion-dollar corporations whose home countries claim – for themselves – the advantages of competition.

The sheer scale of investment in oil and mining properties in the lesser developed part of the world means that American and Western business interests play a major and virtually unavoidable role in shaping both US and local government policy. As a practical matter it is often impossible to disentangle government from corporate objectives. Currently, for instance, the Agency for International Development is aggressively supporting a plan that calls for major US oil companies to build and operate fertilizer plants in India under conditions that will enable them to maintain the high price they now charge for fertilizer. The Indians are extremely annoyed about this proposal, preferring instead to use cheaper fuels (like natural gas, now being flared in the Middle East) so as to sharply cut fertilizer costs. If, as is now likely, the United States continues to support the oil companies' plan, the Indians may have to go along out of fear of losing American economic assistance.

Unifying Force of Investment

The investment question must, though, be kept in perspective and it would be quite wrong to think that US overseas business involvement does not yield very substantial benefits. The participation of aggressive American companies in the European economy has stimulated competition, forced established firms to modernize, and led to the adoption of more efficient means of distribution. Paralleling remarks made by the *Economist* and by such Continental voices as *Die Welt*, the London *Observer* concluded that "the invasion of American firms is one of the best things that has ever

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happened to British industry." European corporate managers have understandably not seen the American invasion quite so sympathetically, for it has meant the end of cozy arrangements in which they had seemingly grasped, as the best of all worlds, "the quiet life." By European standards, American business executives, hardly strangers to the ways of cartelization (as the GE price-fixing cases so vividly revealed), are considerably more acclimated to the brisk winds of competition.

US multinational corporations have also been a force for economic integration, particularly in Europe where they have been quicker to seize the opportunities provided by the Common Market than their local competitors. Last year, when it was considering building a new assembly plant, GM, for example, initially explored the possibilities of locating in France. Meeting with a chilly reception it simply decided to build the factory at Antwerp and supply French (and other European) buyers from there.

By contrast, European companies, for various reasons, have been far more reluctant to set up operations outside of their home countries. Even in the case of mergers, very few firms of different nationalities have consolidated. Germany's Agfa and Belgium's Gevaert tried to arrange such a marriage in 1964 but found it impractical because the two countries' laws were essentially incompatible (instead they worked out a close operating partnership). Proposals for a European company law that would facilitate mergers within the Community are now under study, but for the moment it is the American corporation which is the most potent force for integration on the Continent. Looked at in grander terms, the vast international operations of US and foreign corporations might similarly become a unifying force in the free world if their negative attributes are kept in check through cooperative international political action.

The Irrelevance of Present Law

For some time now, without recognizing it fully, we have been living in an era of economic internationalism in which global corporations, most often born in America, are coming to dominate the world economy much as they do the domestic US and other national economies. Giant world businesses like Standard Oil of New Jersey (with 57 foreign affiliates), US Rubber, IBM, General Motors, ITT, Royal Dutch/Shell, and Unilever – empires upon which the sun never sets – have actually lost their national identity. They are literally companies without a country. With their operations, management, and ownership scattered among a number of countries, new institutions and new laws are needed to cope with their peculiar needs and unique challenges.

Nineteenth-Century national approaches to the globe-girdling corporations of the 1960's are ineffective and inappropriate. They encumber the firms themselves with inconsistent and ambivalent controls without providing the public with meaningful protection from abuses of amassed corporate might. For example, during the last 20 years several countries, mostly in Europe, have passed antitrust laws in an effort to protect their markets from monopolistic encroachment. Differing in their substantive standards and manner of administration, these statutes are neither unambiguous nor harmonious. To companies coming within its jurisdiction, the postwar antitrust legislation presents prospective problems of interpretation that tend to confound their business operations.

Yet these problems, produced by conflicting legislative commands, are largely hypothetical for, by functioning multinationally, American and other business corporations have effectively avoided the reach of the antitrust law of any single country in which they produce or sell their wares. A US firm that acquires a foreign rival with which it competes in the international arena is unlikely to be challenged on antitrust grounds by any country, including our own. Why? To the Department of Justice or the Federal Trade Commission it is a "foreign" matter, best avoided because of diplomatic complications. And to the other countries affected, it is looked upon in much the same way. Result: the transnational companies can escape regulation by walking in the cracks between countries, so to speak. Through international mergers, overseas investment, and assorted practices the big supranational companies have been able to gain control of world markets. Based on recent experience, 300 corporations will by 1975 control more than 75 percent of all industrial assets and will have eliminated such price competition as remains in the sale of manufactured goods.

If our laws and institutions are to be made relevant to existing international business practices and in particular to the requirements and challenges of the global corporations, we must recognize that the problems – some of them old, many entirely new – are basically international in character and can only be resolved through the mutual action of the industrialized countries. To date this crucial point has not been grasped. Now it is time for the United States, heretofore the jealous guardian of American sovereignty and erstwhile protector of "our" business interests, to take the lead, openly and officially, in working with the other members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to define a common policy for governing the multinational corporations that are coming increasingly to dominate the world economy. The precise content of such a common policy is one of the subjects under consideration now by Senator Philip A. Hart's Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee.

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WASHINGTON

Life in the Lost Colony—II

by Andrew Kopkind and James Ridgeway

Life in voteless, "colonial" Washington, D.C., is pleasant enough for the white minority (37 percent), which enjoys low taxes, priority public services, and residential and cultural *apartheid*. There are no elective offices in the city; decisions emerge from a maze of congressional committees and presidentially appointed boards. (The School Board is appointed by federal judges – a system now under attack as a violation of "separation of powers.") Most often, officials merely confirm policies which essentially are determined by the activities and interests of the well-placed whites. For example, the local (appointed) Planning Commission vetoed an imaginative renewal program for the racially and economically mixed Adams-Morgan neighborhood, because private developers were already at work clearing out low-income Negroes. There is an acute shortage of land and a booming speculator's market. The pattern that is developing is a city of crowded Negro slums surrounding a spacious but sparsely populated white "colony." It is obviously dangerous. Hemmed in by white suburbs in Maryland and Virginia and confronting the white ghetto in Washington, the Negro majority simmers with resentment, but is so far powerless to change conditions.

Washington did not "discover" the racial problem until a few years ago. The *Evening Star* had its first major stories about the "Negro in Washington" in 1961. Since then, it has become the prime public issue. The first major racial incident (since the bloody 1919 race riots which few of the transient residents know about) was a fight at a *Post*-sponsored high school football game in 1962. The "First Annual *Washington Post* Football Game and Race Riot," as it is unaffectionately called, alerted the city to the possibility of serious conflict. Last summer, two rookie policemen broke up a teen-age ball game in an alley in a Negro slum. An argument ensued, and soon hundreds of Negroes were marching on the police station. This month, the President announced a high-priority employment and physical fitness program for District youths this summer. The hope is that it will forestall a major racial explosion. The White House is more than jittery about trouble in the "model" city, with its profusion of reporters, and its international exposure. Two weeks ago, 10,000 Negro youths went on an Easter Monday rampage at a suburban amusement park. The papers rushed to insist that it was not a "racial incident."

The Negroes have long been unrepresented in the business, citizens, and amateur political groupings that pass for serious politics in Washington. The landlords, the banks and utilities, and other major employers are very well represented in the Board of Trade, which, in the absence of representative government, has become something like a body-politic. Its letterhead symbol is a pre-Independence colonial figure standing, three-cornered hat over his eyes, with his arms folded. It says it is the "voice of Washington."

In 1954, *Washington Post* publisher Philip Graham started the Federal City Council, as a "progressive" counterpoise to the Board of Trade. The council spun off another association, Downtown Progress, which is the old-established department store and center-city merchants' lobby for downtown urban renewal, rapid transit, and public parking. It rarely gets involved in issues unrelated to the downtown economy.

The Board of Trade, however, continues as the most effective local obstruction to reform. It opposes urban renewal, higher real-estate taxes, increased welfare. It is for controlling "crime" in the ways which usually mean clamping down tighter on the Negroes. For years it opposed a District minimum wage; now it concedes it could live with a *minimum* minimum wage (nothing higher than the federal standard). Formerly composed of District of Columbia businessmen, it changed its name and its membership policies a few years ago to include "Metropolitan" elements. (As in other places, "metro" government allows suburban whites to keep control of the Negro-filled cities.)

The Board had been traditionally lily-white. But it recently included "25 to 30" Negroes among its 7,000 business and individual members, according to Col. William Press, the long-time executive vice-president. Last Tuesday, it announced the appointment of its first Negro director, a 71-year-old "life-long Republican"

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lawyer, George E. C. Hayes. There is a separate, but unequal Negro business group, called the D.C. Chamber of Commerce, which has very little impact.

Little of substance is decided at annual Board of Trade meetings (with 800 or so in attendance) or the annual dinner-dance ($20 a throw). "Years ago," Col. Press said, "there used to be quite a bit of that – meetings of the members to decide policy – but it isn't practical any more; at least it doesn't seem to be." A centralized directorate of 51 members, and an executive committee of 17, makes policy. The committee includes three bankers, two investment brokers, a parking lobbyist, a highway users' lobbyist, a realtor, a utilities official (telephone company), a retail-store executive, a printing company owner and a TV station official.

Like the majority of House District Committee members, most Board of Trade directors live outside the city – Col. Press estimates that two-thirds of all Board members live in the suburbs – and yet the Board is one of the chief lobbyists for District affairs. It has a $330,000 annual budget, mostly from members' dues, which were recently doubled (the scale slides from $50 for an individual, to "thousands" for a big business, Board officials said). The dues increase coincided with the Board's intensified opposition to home rule; in essence, the new funds constituted a "kitty" to fight self-government. Last fall, Col. Press talked to a citizens' association meeting. According to an association member present, the Colonel asked if there were any newspaper reporters in the room, and when assured there weren't, he revealed that the Board had hired two "expensive" speech writers and had decided to spend $100,000 to fight home rule. Campaign literature was already going out to newspapers around the country.

Volunteer Community Activity

There are some integration-minded whites in the District interested in housing. Two non-profit organizations sought to rehabilitate dilapidated houses through an FHA scheme that insures mortgages at below market rates. But after a year of petty haggling with the government, they are worn out, and only 50 units have been approved for rehabilitation. Church and civic groups as well as private builders have been more successful in getting new low-income housing past the FHA. About 2,000 new units are under construction or already complete. These are cheap: Two-bedroom flats go for $95 a month.

Neighbors, Inc., a community organization that operates along the District-Maryland line, worked to keep white middle-class home owners from jumping across the Maryland line as Negroes began to move in eight years ago. The outflow was slowed. But the school population reflects the change: Six years ago two thirds of the high school pupils were white; now one fifth are white. White residents continue to move out, not especially because they don't care for Negroes, but because the schools have been permitted to deteriorate as Negroes come into them. Whites look across the Maryland line and see the lavishly equipped, well-staffed, white Maryland schools. It's hard to resist the jump.

A new group, Action Coordinating Committee to End Segregation in the Suburbs (ACCESS) throws picket lines around housing projects in Maryland and Virginia which it claims are discriminating against Negroes. ACCESS began in March, and results thus far are slender. One builder was persuaded to come out and publicly support a fair housing bill pending before the Maryland legislature. The legislature killed it anyway. In Cleveland Park, a well-to-do white neighborhood, residents seek Negro neighbors. Houses can be purchased there starting at $50,000.

A collection of neighborhood white citizens clubs, called the Federation of Citizens Associations, usually lines up with the Board of Trade; its opposite number across the *apartheid* wall, the predominantly Negro Federation of Civic Associations, takes an opposite approach, without success. The white organization comprises 38 clubs and has about 20,000 members. It opposes home rule and urban renewal. The president, John R. Immer, said recently that "every piece of legislation we have opposed over the past three years has failed of passage. Our only failure has come with the failure to get passage of the crime bill." The Association is more worried than most about "crime in the streets"; Immer said that home rule would bring "local politicos" into power who think that "everything should be done to protect the criminals."

The white citizens clubs have always entertained vague fears of financial insolvency under self-government. As it is, Congress puts up only 13 percent of the District budget, presumably in lieu of taxes on its vast real-estate holdings. Some residents express anxiety that a petulant Congress might refuse, or cut the sum if home rule were granted. In any event, congressmen argue that their contribution entitles them to control. In opposition, home rule advocates point to the example of TVA, which gives a fixed payment to municipalities where it has facilities, with no strings attached.

The fight for home rule has for years been the province of the "white liberals," and the D.C. Committee for Home Rule has an interlocking directorate with the D.C. Democratic Central Committee. Here, the operative chief is Joseph L. Rauh Jr., who has extensive connections with civil rights, labor, the ACLU, the Americans for Democratic Action, and other such efforts. He has spent long hours in the Speakers Lobby, arguing for this or that progressive legislation. The coincidence of many factors last year, not the least of

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which was the huge Democratic congressional majorities, brought home rule almost within his grasp, before it was defeated, for the present, by the passage of a "substitute" supported largely by Southerners and conservative Democrats. The Home Rule Committee, retiring in disarray, is split on whether to start all over again for a workable bill, or try to find the sunny side of the substitute.

Rebellion from the Bottom

In the meantime, some of the same pressures which brought the stronger bill close to passage are moving Washingtonians in new directions. The civil rights movement, which in its more active forms had difficulty penetrating the city's supposedly inert Negro community, has begun to stir. The antipoverty program has at once underlined frustrations and raised expectations of the poor. In January, a coalition of civil rights groups, led by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's Washington man, Marion Barry Jr., staged a one-day bus boycott to protest a proposed five-cent fare increase. The target area was the line serving the heaviest concentration of poor Negroes. It was an unexpected, and to Washington's political cynics, staggering success. The evening newspaper, the *Star*, reported it was 90 percent effective. O. Roy Chalk, president of D.C. Transit, said he lost 150,000 or more fares, and that the lasting effect of hostility to the bus company may cost $150,000. He is probably exaggerating (D.C. Transit had a bad first quarter, and the boycott may be a convenient rationalization), but the important consequence was the realization by Negroes that they could *do* something: the fare increase was turned down, and the bus boycotters are credited with the "victory."

A few weeks after the boycott, Barry and leaders of various civil rights groups announced the formation of the "Free D.C. Movement." Its slogan is "the right to vote," and its symbol (a prisoner's chain breaking apart) is printed on a sticker that Movement workers ask merchants to display in their store windows. Along with the symbol of support, merchants are asked to sign a petition for home rule. (Originally, the store owners were to be asked for a contribution of money to counter the Board of Trade's anti-home rule "kitty," but the outcry – "extortion!" "blackmail!" – was so sharp that the Movement retreated from that idea.) The assumption is that District residents have a right to know which merchants back, actively or passively, the Board of Trade's lobby. By extension, residents should boycott (in the words of Movement leaders, "withhold their support") stores without stickers.

The campaign began in the Negro neighborhoods. Barry believes that it is necessary to win home rule by wide-scale political action, and by the logic of numbers the Negro sections are the places to start. Free D.C. stickers appeared on almost every "local" store window; only the big nationwide chains held out. A group of the executives of the big department stores issued a proclamation of "corporate neutrality," and said they neither opposed nor supported political issues. Movement workers called that diffidence "deception": the stores tacitly opposed home rule by contributing to the Board of Trade campaign. The Board has tried to neutralize hostile sentiment by appointing its one Negro director. In late March, the Movement moved downtown, and threw up a picket line against Kann's, a large locally owned department store that has declared itself corporately "neutral." Kann's president says he personally favors home rule, but will not be "bullied" into putting up a sticker. The pickets are still there. Last week, Movement workers entered a "Miss Free D.C." in the Cherry Blossom Festival, sponsored by the Board of Trade. She was arrested for "illegal entry" to the Festival ball.

Free D.C.'s tactics are bitterly debated. The long-suffering whites who have fought for home rule all alone (by choice) believe that self-government will be better-, if not good-government. And the quickest, most direct way to get it is by congressional maneuvering. They have never been much interested in widening their base to include "un-integrated" Negroes. There has been token Negro representation, but the control of the home rule effort has remained with the whites.

The Movement theorizers do not deny that their tactics may cause disaffection and irritation in Congress and among the white moderates, but they argue that civil rights legislation – and home rule amounts to that – has come in response to militancy.

In any case, the Free D.C. workers hold that their first interest is the creation of some political awareness among the city's two-thirds Negro majority, the depths of whose political unconsciousness are unfathomable. There have been no ways for any but the very few "integrated" Negroes to focus on politics. The rest are "turned off." Colonialism does that.

What Negro leadership there is relates not to the working people and the "underclass," but to the assimilated Negroes of the "Gold Coast" – the upper-income Negro residential area near the Maryland line. The few Negroes who have been active in sporadic civil rights activity have not built strong bases of political support. Julius Hobson, head of the militant ACT group, has consistently challenged the Establishment's rules, and he can drum up bodies for a small rally or a picket line, but he has not been able to start a city-wide "movement." The Rev. Walter Fauntroy, who is the Washington representative of Martin Luther King's operations, led a "Coalition of Conscience," which suf-

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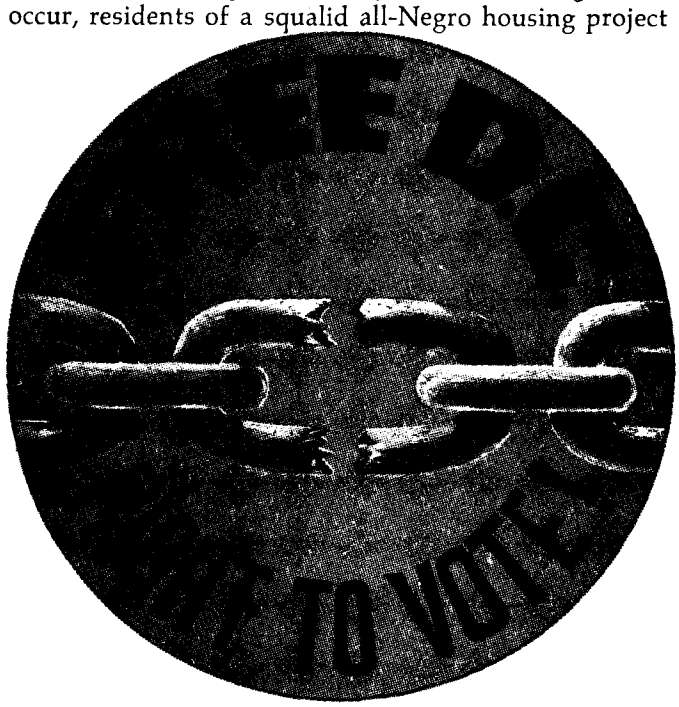
fered from a frequent malady of coalitions – too many leaders, not enough troops. Fauntroy has been "drafted" by the White House for the staff of the forthcoming Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"; it effectively removes him from local action. There is a small Muslim population, a smaller CORE. The Urban League is generally more militant than the NAACP; it seemed to support, as quietly as possible, the Free D.C. boycott – much to the discomfort of its acting president, an officer of the big American Security and Trust Co. bank. He resigned from the League this month over the boycott issue.

A boycott may not be the best way to create political power groups. Rauh points out that the worst enemies of self-government are not the department stores, but the land lobbies, the banks, the utilities. But no one has yet come up with a plan for attacking them, and Free D.C., still a leader-heavy, ad-hoc organization with only scattered troops and no money, finds the merchants at least a target of convenience.

Movement workers have yet to get down to the hard business of grass-roots organizing. There have been demonstrations in Negro neighborhoods – in many cases, Free D.C. has been the first "political" organization to arouse the interest of the poor Negroes. But much of the organizing work is still being done with the help of sympathetic whites, and Free D.C. is bigger in the press and on paper (it includes many "leaders" who have other interests to occupy their time) than on the streets. In a year or two the organizers might be able to build a strong action group, but it is difficult to do without electoral politics as a focus.

Free D.C. is not the only "movement" in the Negro community. As spontaneously as such things ever occur, residents of a squalid all-Negro housing project



in Southeast Washington have formed action groups to fight for building repairs, fairer rent scales, and a voice in project management. UPO workers are acting as advisers, and one of the groups, a tenant organization called the "Band of Angels," started well-publicized sit-ins in the office of Walter Washington, the (Negro) director of the National Capital Housing Authority. They won their demands for interior, not outside "spruce-up" improvements, for playgrounds and fences; they're still demanding the right of consultation before decisions for the project are made. Another group called "Rebels With a Cause," made up of pre-teens and teenagers, sat in at the UPO to press for a grant to survey the needs for youth programs in Southeast. They got their grant. The Southeast Neighborhood Advisory Council, until recently the powerless adjunct to the antipoverty program, sat-in at the Office of Economic Opportunity headquarters and emerged with 94 new poverty workers for the city's slums. Some groups loudly protested Sargent Shriver's speech last week at the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty annual meeting. All these efforts have had their effect among the Negroes. All of a sudden, tenants in other projects are making themselves heard.

There are rumblings of a small political earthquake in a battle of Negroes and a few "token" whites to capture the Young Democrats, much to the horror of the Old Democrats, who control it now. The insurgents won an election fight by three-to-one. In most cities, such organizations do not amount to much; in the District, political parties take on unaccustomed importance because there are no elected officials.

Other civil rights activists are talking about self-help business ventures. Negroes living near the big O Street Market are demonstrating for lower prices (they are always higher in the slums) and better quality produce. Negroes are excluded from the city's economic life as completely as they are cut off from political life. Of 12,300 D.C. businesses 1,500 are Negro owned; nearly a third are beauty and barber shops.

It is hard to predict what all this agitation will produce. In the view of many Washingtonians, there is an opportunity for a unique political evolution in this "model" American city. So far, it is a model in all the worst ways: it is run by suburbanites and their resident bureaucrats; it depends on federal funding without giving the mass of citizens a voice in how the money is spent; the First Lady supports beautification which only hides the city's misery; businessmen claim "corporate neutrality" and then wheel and deal behind the scenes; urban renewal is nothing more than zoning to separate the classes and the races.

This is the second of two articles

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Buchan and the British Guermantes

by J. D. Scott

John Buchan was born in 1875, son of a middle-class family in Scotland. He died in 1940 as Governor-General of Canada, a position as close to being a king as anyone could achieve in the modern world. On the way he had made his way to the top of the Establishment and of Society, and had been, as a writer, as successful as he wanted to be. He had played an interesting role in politics, and if it was not the part he really wanted, how many people in politics play the part they really want? "It had been," his biographer comments, "on the whole a fortunate life," but if that were all it would hardly merit this detailed, scholarly, affectionate yet detached biography, which no one in Britain was so well qualified to write as Janet Adam Smith. It was called for rather because of the significance of Buchan's career as a rich offering of marginal notes on British society and politics, on Imperialism, on the connection between creative writing and journalism, on Anglo-Canadian-US relations, and on such elusive but tempting subjects as the aristocratic style in politics. It is, in one of its aspects, a kind of British *Guermantes Way*.

John Buchan. A Biography
by Janet Adam Smith
(Little, Brown; $7.50)

Buchan and Proust had, at any rate, more in common than their near-contemporaneity. Their social origins were very comparable. Their parents belonged to the middle middle-class; they were further cut off from the *beau monde* by religious differences – Buchan not only did not belong to the Church of England, but he was not even born into the Established Church of Scotland, only into a schismatic body called the Free Church of Scotland, membership of which was about as socially alienating in Britain as Proust's Jewish mother was in France. Yet the end of the century saw both these young provincials installed at the most exalted dinner tables, welcomed for their charm, their literary promise, welcomed because all the brilliant young men of the great families believed these young men of no family to be the most brilliant of all.

The world that Buchan entered was, however, more intoxicatingly splendid than that of the Faubourg St. Germain, for the people who inhabited it were not only Guermantes – they were Guermantes *with power*. In 1901, for example, when Buchan paid his first visit to a "really great" country house, the thirty to forty other house guests included "Arthur Balfour, several of the Cecils, and Lady Curzon." At this time Balfour was about to succeed his uncle, Lord Salisbury, as Prime Minister; his cousins, the Cecils, had been intermittently running the country for several hundred years; Lady Curzon was one of the American ladies who had given revivifying injections of new American millions to ancient European families.

Into the magic circle (as Mr. Iain McLeod called it sixty years later) Buchan brought great intellectual gifts, immense industry, charm, imagination, loyalty, magnanimity, and passionate wish to belong. His financial success as a lawyer, journalist, and writer assured him of a pretty large income and he was able to turn his hand to many things, including a spell as an imperial administrator in South Africa, book-publishing, and a big propaganda job in World War I. In 1907 he married Susan Grosvenor, a daughter of Lord Ebury and a family connection of both the Duke of Westminster and the Duke of Wellington. From 1927-35 he was a Member of Parliament; in 1935 he was appointed Governor-General, and died in office five years later.

With all his gifts and all his merits Buchan had wanted his life to take other turns. F. E. Smith, also born far outside the magic circle, rose to great office and real power. Why did Buchan not do the same? And why, since he was intelligent and perceptive and possessed imagination, did he never even aspire as a novelist to be more than a well-known writer of romantic thrillers, based on one special insight, which, before 1914, was original and singular: Buchan knew how near violence and danger might be below the smooth surface of civilized life.

The answer appears to be that there

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was something wrong both with the mix of his talents and with the milieu in which they operated. His imaginative insight operated in his fiction, which was a secondary interest, and not in his politics, about which he cared deeply. In any event he considered his biographies to be his "serious" literary work; he does not appear to have thought very highly of his own directly creative talent – nor perhaps of anybody else's.

While he had a civilized distaste for Mussolini and Hitler, he did not realize that they were what he had been writing about for a long time, the immanent Threat become flesh.

Nor could he ever realize that while the Guermantes of his youth ruled the world, they were letting it slip, and that their "aristocratic style in politics" – the art of government from country houses, clubs, and grouse moors – was in its turn becoming as ineffective, as much a pageant, as the Address from the Throne, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Silver Stick in Waiting, and all the rest of the trappings of the older, monarchical, order.

It was appropriate that Buchan, now Lord Tweedsmuir, ended his life in a position of almost regal magnificence that was yet not quite real, and characteristic of him that he should give it as much reality as it was capable of absorbing.

Yet by a peculiar and very Proustian irony, it was many years after his death that Buchan had such a mild revenge as his tolerant spirit might have enjoyed on the Tory system which had distrusted (and perhaps taught him to distrust) his romantic imagination and failed to make a full use of his talents. When, in 1964, the Conservative Party, in travail, turned for rescue to the quintessentially Guermantes figure of the Earl of Home, many people could not believe that this incredibly charming man, with his formidable abilities cloaked in an easy patrician affability, this former Captain of the Eton Cricket Eleven, this scion of the ancient House of Douglas, from Buchan's own Scottish Border country, really existed. This last manifestation of the aristocratic style in British politics was, far too obviously, only a character in a Buchan novel.

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Looking-Glass Land

by Geoffrey A. Wolff

In the house of *A Wilderness of Mirrors* are many states: perhaps too many. This is a novel about fictions: about masking, inventing, role-playing, deceiving and the shuffling of reality. The exploration of the resources of fiction produced some of the best work of Joyce, James and Faulkner, but they always took care to play such concerns close to the chest. Frisch is different: he is self-conscious, obsessed, the captive of his shuttling anatomies of the writer-at-work, the Novelist as Liar, as Eavesdropper, as Mad Inventor.

A Wilderness of Mirrors
by Max Frisch
Translated by Michael Bullock
(Random House; $6)

The title chosen by his American publisher (it was *Mein Name sei Gantenbein* in German) is apt: it is as much a criticism of Frisch's ends as a description of his book's means. The narrator sees a man he doesn't know leave a bar. A short time later the man is found dead at the wheel of his car. The narrator, mad or a writer, constructs, from a shard of information about the dead man, two elaborate fictional structures.

The narrator "tries on stories like clothes." In one of them the dead man is Gantenbein, who feigns blindness in order to see what the world really looks like behind its masks. In another, he is Enderlin, a fusty scholar who has been invited to speak at Harvard, who is crippled by the failure of his resolve and of whom we have scant information save that he and Gantenbein intersect through Lila, Gantenbein's wife who is, perhaps, Enderlin's lover.

The chaos, the simultaneous presence of the two separate fictions, is of course the point. It is a deliberate and methodical shifting of distorting glass that mirrors the presence of phantoms. To give Frisch his due, there is great method in the madness, but such method, such tricks, make the substance and effect of the book none the less mad.

A Wilderness of Mirrors is constructed like a novelist's notebook rather than a novel. The narrator is urged to invent by the recurrent question "what would happen if?" His fictions follow the repeated introduction: "I imagine."

The author's extended narrative tells us, and attempts to show us, that we invent ourselves for ourselves and others and that our fictions can never hope to enjoy a purchase on reality because reality is merely the sum of our disguises. The lesson, diagrammed on Frisch's blackboard, is oversold. It is also, often, artlessly delivered. *A Wilderness of Mirrors* grinds along relentlessly, like a self-contained proof in advanced mathematics, locked into its single axiom: contrived false leads prove "you are still the only reality far and wide, other people are puppets of your mood."

The trouble is, the proof is too neat, too efficient. We can see the strings being pulled; we dwell on the trick, not its effect. What we see is the apparatus up the magician's sleeve, not the rabbit he conjures from his hat.

Two narrative tricks enjoy Frisch's special favor: the shifting combinations of imaginary characters spied upon by changing omniscient narrators and the repetition of certain singular, symbol-laden paragraphs in different contexts. The former device confuses us, as it is meant to, but to little profit, and the latter, once or twice arresting, finally becomes cloying.

Frisch is not unconscious of the hazard of his enterprise. He has Gantenbein, reflecting on his pose as a blind man, observe: "An actor who has to play the part of a man with a limp need not limp with every step. It is enough if he limps at the right moment . . . and this is what the art of acting has to mirror: the moments of surprise, these alone."

And it is Gantenbein, yoking resourceful disguising with restraint, underplaying, who is the book's most satisfying character and Frisch's best idea. For love of Gantenbein, Frisch retrieves humanity and humor from the earnest Swiss considerations that characterize the balance of the work.

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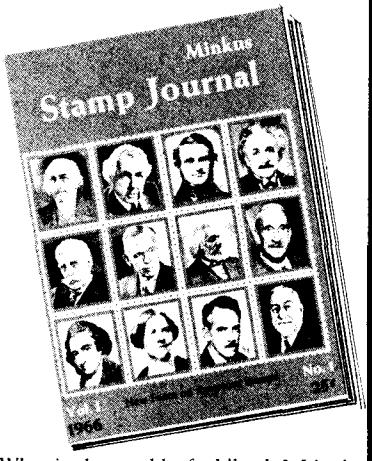

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yellow armband, smoked glasses and a stick, Gantenbein is of the family of Odysseus and Felix Krull, the only one in on the joke. He delights in being lied to and telling lies. He is supported by Lila, whose own skill as an actress finally dislodges his sanity.

While Gantenbein, sane, taps his way through the world, Frisch's thesis looks like art. At cocktail parties he insults people by pretending he doesn't know they are present. He demonstrates a sixth sense, to the world's wonder. Missing ash trays, he burns holes in ugly furniture. Great stuff and greatly funny.

Gantenbein pays his dues by pretending ignorance of the world's inventions. He forgets his pose often, but the world pays no attention. It needs blind men, and as long as he will play the role that permits the world's roles, no questions. He visits a whore weekly (to have his fingernails trimmed) and she plays at being a lady. His play at blindness translates her doleful existence into life. The last time he sees her she tells him she knows he can see and says "I shall never tell anyone you aren't blind; don't you tell anyone what you have seen."

But Gantenbein, driven to madness by jealousy of Lila's real (or imagined) lover, opts for reality and removes his glasses, as one of the narrator's fictions has it. With that, the Frisch machinery rumbles to life and kills Gantenbein with programmed language and labored ironies. He can't see anything once he can see (we are spared the invocation of Oedipus and Tiresias, but barely). The narrator speaks of Gantenbein's "blind readiness to look any fact in the face."

Frisch loves the significant symbol, particularly that which questions identity. It has marred much of his work: *I'm not Stiller, Homo Faber* and, particularly, the brittle and wooden drama *Andorra*, his essay into racial prejudice.

Frisch has great imagination and an impressive memory for detail, but the detail, top-heavy with significance, is, in *A Wilderness of Mirrors*, a surfeit. In making this too-rich pudding it seems the author took from his shelf every ingredient that had been left over for years. It is a wardrobe of Great Themes of the Modern Novel, many by now rather out-at-the-elbow.

When Frisch touches the resources of economy and self-control, his effects leap from the page. His is a serious book, and the evidence is that Frisch felt compelled to write it as a demonstration of the devices and limitations that threaten any novelist and not as a tour de force. But finally, forgetting that the best actor must now and again forget his limp, he overplays and overstuffs; it is, like Fellini's $8^1/_2$, a self-indulgence, repelling our sympathy and attention.

*The Last Train to Malakhovka**

by Andrei Voznesensky

Boys with fancy flick knives,
Girls with brassy gold-crowned smiles,
Two conductresses, those stony
Sphinxes, cat-napping . . .

They're all nodding, our workaday citizens,
The coach is blacked out with sleep
Except at the end of the car where jigs
A hubbub of drunken strings.

I'm there too, near the door,
To get away from the heat and snores
Around me throbbing like a gypsy camp
Thieves and guitars . . .

I happen to start to say a poem
To some of these toughs in the shadows . . .
Cigarette butts, a litter of
Spat-out sunflower seeds . . .

They've rackets of their own
But I recite to them
About a girl who's crying
In the glassy night of a telephone booth

They've been up before the judge a hundred times
They don't care what happens to them
They've got away with murder
And figure that they always can

You think they give a damn about that girl
Crying in the telephone booth?
For them she's no more than this one here
All bangs, plastered with powder

. . . You stand there, you've got
That soggy used-up look,
Your blouse records the fingerprints
Of half the boys in Malakhovka

Yet it's you who are crying stormily
And shining with tears
Whisper to me obscenely
The purest words

And then from the train
Astounding everyone
You leap to the platform –
Purer than Beatrice.

TRANSLATED BY JEAN GARRIGUE

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* Malakhovka, a suburb of Moscow, has a bad reputation. The last train back from Moscow might well include among the passengers juvenile delinquents, criminals and prostitutes.

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The $475 Bargain

by Frank Getlein

Ben Shahn's *Haggadah*, a *livre de luxe* just published in a limited edition, is the first of a projected series of four volumes by the artist. It comes along almost simultaneously with the new and probably last major print series by Marc Chagall, which, interestingly, is

Haggadah
Translated by Cecil Roth
Illustrated by Ben Shahn
(Limited, signed edition – Trianon: $475)
(Trade edition – Little-Brown; $20)

two dozen lithographs on the Book of Exodus. The Chagall series is utterly enchanting in color and form, some of the plates being made with a couple of dozen stones or more. Colors seem to flit and shadow across the surfaces and among the people in flight from Egyptian bondage and in search of the Promised Land and God's will. There have been moments in Chagall's long career when some of his prints struck the sensitive eye as more or less commercially produced lithographic copies of gouache or water-color paintings complete with signature. Though these things no doubt had their uses, people who bought them were said to be collectors of autographs rather than of prints. The new *Exodus* is no such thing, but a true print conception and execution on the grand scale which is also a stunning success.

The Shahn *Haggadah*, of course, is something else. The Chagall *Exodus*, although presented boxed and with text excerpts from the Book of Exodus, is essentially a print series, one which stands quite independent of the text, although obviously some knowledge of the text is useful in looking at the pictures. Shahn's *Haggadah* is a true *livre de luxe* and it may well be one of the last of the genre.

The prospectus – the top editions of all are sold by subscription, but a trade edition of *Haggadah* has been issued – lists the rest as *Ecclesiastes*, *Dreyfus* and *Levana*. It's an interesting line-up, more or less immortalizing the feeling of many Jews, at least before Hitler and all that, that the ordeal of Dreyfus and his eventual exoneration somehow consituted a notable event – for some almost a holy event – in the long and painful struggle of the Jews to freedom and equality in Christian Europe and America. The four are interesing, too, especially when considered in conjunction with the Chagall *Exodus*, as indicating a decidedly Jewish cast to what seem to be the last days of the *livre de luxe*. De luxe it really is: the *Haggadah* box is bound in flawless parchment and opens both ways, one English, one Hebrew; the fasteners are slim, elegant hooks that suggest sickles; the plates are printed on deckle-edge paper of varying kinds with the varying subjects; each box contains a signed lithograph and the top edition has one of the original drawings from "An Only Kid," the strangely haunting child's song that concludes the service.

Shahn has always been drawn to the memories and relicts of his Litvak forbears and used them at least occasionally in his art. Trianon Press in Paris, has simply, since the end of World War II, been engaged in the anachronistic pursuit of producing the finest possible books. They did most recently the astonishing facsimile editions of the *Songs of Innocence and Experience* for the Blake Trust, copies so like the originals of the poet-painter that it just about takes chemical analysis to tell one from the other. Trianon, to produce its wonders of fidelity and class, relies very heavily upon a single, aging French craftsman-printer of a kind that neither France nor any place else is training any more. It seems entirely likely that the Shahn books will indeed be the end of the *livre de luxe*, although various Americans from time to time have talked wishfully about starting such a tradition here.

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artist are very appropriate. The form will end, in a way, where it began. For the original *livres de luxe* were from scripture and most of it was Jewish in origin. Beyond that, the Jews brought into Western consciousness the reverence for the written word, for the Book, that is the ultimate justification of the *livre de luxe*. The Bible could be copied with care and time and infinite embellishment in the medieval scriptoria because it was the word of God; in Islam, the same phenomenon occurred and both cultures inherited their reverence for the word and the book from their spiritual parents, the Jews.

So here, in Ben Shahn's testament, that ancient reverence is being embodied in images of power and beauty. The *Haggadah* embellishes and illustrates the service of Passover, the commemoration of a flight to freedom and self-knowledge on the part of a people in formation; *Ecclesiastes* is a tiny treasure house of beautifully wrought sayings of wisdom, from the opening "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity" and its development through man's works in farms and vineyards and wisdom and folly, through the "times": to be born, to die, to keep, to cast away, to love, to hate, to keep silence, to speak and so on through the list of contrasts and the final passage of the loosening of the silver cord, the breaking of the golden bowl. Dreyfus, in some mysterious way, brings much of the tradition down to modern times. *Levana*, which is the Hebrew word for moon, will take note of the significance of the moon in Jewish consciousness, from the orthodox blessing of the new moon, to the simple fact that the calendar is lunar.

Until some new technical-economic breakthrough, there may be no more such super-fine books. If so, the Shahn-Trianon enterprise is a marvelous place to end.

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Mahler Tenth, Ives Fourth

For years it was believed that Mahler left the completed first movement of what was to have been his Symphony No. 10, and sketches of the third movement that were sufficient for Krenek to complete, but only fragments of the other three movements; and so only the first and third movements were performed and recorded. But a few years ago it was discovered that he had left the entire work completed in four-stave short score, and almost half of it in full orchestral score, with notations and preliminary sketches for the orchestration of the remainder. This task was undertaken by the English musicologist, Deryck Cooke, with the guidance of Mahler's work and his indicated intentions; and Cooke also supplied some missing harmonies in part of the fourth movement. The performing version he produced sounds at every point like the work of Mahler – more specifically the Mahler who composed the later symphonies, still enormously accomplished in the manipulation of his medium, and capable, in the Symphony No. 10, of pages as extraordinary as the beginning of the finale, with its recurring terrifying drumstroke, or as lovely as the lyrical passage for strings shortly afterward, but most of the time repeating unattractive and uninteresting ideas in an endless frenetic ranting. Ormandy repeats, on Columbia M2L-335 and M2S-735, the pacing and shaping of the work that merited the gesture of his superb orchestra at the end of the performance in Carnegie Hall – of remaining seated and applauding him.

Charles Ives' Symphony No. 4 is another work which required musicologists to put together a score, so that Stokowski might perform it, 50 years after its composition, with an immensely enlarged American Symphony Orchestra and a group from the Schola Cantorum necessitating the participation of two associate conductors. Nowadays it is axiomatic that every work of Ives that had to wait 50 years for its first performance is a shamefully neglected masterpiece by a composer of genius; but what my ears hear coming off Columbia ML-6175 and MS-6775 is the usual Ives bedlam which this extreme eccentric thought of as embodying "the searching questions of 'What?' and 'Why?' which the spirit of man asks of life," and "the diverse answers in which existence replies."

The musically distinguished piano-playing that Lili Kraus did in the '30's wth the violinist Szymon Goldberg in their incandescent performances of Mozart and Beethoven sonatas and alone in her performance of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.456, she hasn't equaled since then; however her playing in Mozart's Concertos K.456, 466 and 491 and the engaging lesser work, K.414 – on Epic SC-6054 and BC-154 – is quite good; and only the playing in K.488 is really poor. Stephen Simon conducts the Vienna Festival Orchestra.

The group led by Alexander Schneider – comprising in addition Peter Serkin, piano, Felix Galimir, violin, Michael Tree, viola, and David Soyer, cello – plays Dvorak's Quintet Op. 81, on Van-

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guard VRS-1148 and VSD-71148, with a flamboyance and vehemence that seem to me excessive even for Dvorak. And certainly the gigantesque playing of the same group without Galimir, on VRS-1140 and VSD-71140, is unsuitable for Mozart's Quartets K.478 and 493. I recommend instead the Curzon-Vienna Philharmonic Quartet performance of the Dvorak and the Curzon-Amadeus Quartet performances of the Mozart.

Peter Serkin's occasional explosive violence in the Dvorak and Mozart pieces could be a conforming to the vehement style of the entire group; but his solo performance of Schubert's Sonata Op. 78, on RCA Victor LM- and LSC-2874, also exhibits extremes of unpleasant fortissimo and unsubstantial pianissimo. Moreover, in the Mozart and Dvorak pieces his colleagues create a continuous progression and a coherent shape into which he fits his playing; but operating on his own in the first movement of the Schubert sonata he reveals a lack of the sense for properly related values in dynamics and tempo that produces discontinuities and shapelessness, as against the unfailing continuity of a performance by Cliburn or Ashkenazy and the completely and coherently shaped object it achieves. And whereas the extraordinary powers of Cliburn or Ashkenazy may well have commanded attention even before they were fully developed and matured, this isn't true of young Serkin.

Ashkenazy, as it happens, delights mind and ear with the musical sensitiveness and beautiful sound of his playing in Chopin's Concerto No. 2, a much less interesting work than No. 1, with the London Symphony under David Zinman, on London CM-9440 and CS-6440. The reverse sides have a good performance of Bach's great Concerto in D minor. I prefer the sound from the mono record.

Of the Schubert Impromptus that Schnabel plays on imported Odeon 80684 (mono only), Nos. 2 and 4 of Op. 90 are pieces I don't care for, but Nos. 1 and 3 and all four of Op. 142 are very fine. Nor do I find Schnabel's turbulent playing suitable for Op. 90 No. 1; but his performances of the others are superb. And imported Pathé

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COLH-85 has his sensitive performance of Schumann's wonderfully imagined *Childhood Scenes,* with the Schnabel-Pro Arte Quartet performance of Schumann's Piano Quintet.

Three more unfamiliar early pieces by Mozart that turn out to be astonishingly good, with especially impressive Andantes, are the Divertimenti K. 136, 137 and 138, on Deutsche Grammophon 19-480 with the engaging Serenata Notturna K.239, and played beautifully by Festival Strings Lucerne under Baumgartner.

By now one wants a recording of all of Berlioz's *The Trojans,* not just the few excerpts on Angel B-3670; and one doesn't want these excerpts made unpleasant to listen to by the voices of Regine Crespin and Guy Chauvet.

The first performance of *Norma* with Callas, which Angel withdrew when it issued the later one now current, is available again on imported Odeon QCX-10088-90 (mono only); and Callas' secure, beautiful and dramatically impressive singing makes it preferable not only to the current Angel performance but to the Victor performance with Sutherland. It has constricted singing by the tenor Filipescchi, but fine singing by the mezzo soprano Stignani.

Also, the unsurpassed pre-war Glyndebourne *Marriage of Figaro* conducted by Fritz Busch is now available on Odeon 80833-5, which reproduce it with good sound except for some high-frequency distortion in a couple of tuttis. I must add that only the arias and ensembles were recorded, without their dramatic context of secco recitative.

With no modern recording of Tchaikovsky's superb opera *The Queen of Spades* available, I have listened to the transfer, on Ultraphone 141-3 (mono only), of a 1942 performance by soloists, chorus and orchestra of Moscow's Bolshoi Theater under Samosud's direction. It is paced well; the singing is good; and the recorded sound is clear and agreeable, though with an edge of high-frequency distortion.

And Elisabeth Schumann's enchanting performances of arias from *Figaro, Don Giovanni* and *Il Re Pastore* and songs by Mozart and Strauss have been issued on Angel COLH-154 (mono only).

B. H. HAGGIN

FILMS

Travesty and Travelogue

Karel Reisz's new film *Morgan* is being shown in England under the title, *Morgan – A Suitable Case for Treatment.* The latter title is much more appropriate. Not since Truffaut's *Jules and Jim* has such an arrant psychopathic case been presented in the guise of charm.

Morgan (Cinema V)
Cinerama's Russian Adventure (United Roadshow)

The screenplay by David Mercer is about a young London painter named Morgan Delt. At least, we assume he is a painter. He is never seen painting, but an art dealer asks him for more pictures. On Morgan's return from a trip to Greece, he learns that he is being divorced by his rich upper-class wife, who wants to marry the art-dealer. The film consists of Morgan's efforts to recapture his wife after the decree *nisi* is granted and to prevent her second marriage.

This basic plot, reminiscent of Cary Grant-Irene Dunne comedies of the thirties, is decorated with two elements. The first is animals. People remind Morgan of animals, which we then see. In key with this, his mother's boyfriend is a wrestler called Wally the Gorilla; Morgan keeps a lifesize stuffed gorilla in his attic; he crashes his ex-wife's wedding party in a gorilla suit; he also has King Kong fantasies.

The second element is Communist cant. His cockney mother, who runs a "caff," is a loyal Party member, as was his deceased dad. Mum is full of slogans, and Morgan uses the hammer and sickle as a source of jokes.

The film has been hailed as a fine comedy. My objections begin with the

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fact that I hardly got a smile out of it. Worse, my failure to laugh needed no retrospective analysis and was never a mystery. Virtually from the start, I thought Morgan neither gamesome nor pathetic. At best, he is boorish and most of the time he seems mentally defective.

It is impossible to state precisely where farce of outrage stops being farce and becomes merely outrage. There are no lists of permissible and impermissible acts. Tone and character, more than specific acts, constitute the difference. Here the wrong tone and an unappealing character operate from the outset. Morgan's pranks were never, for me, assaults on stuffy convention by a fetching social freebooter; they were the acts (as his wife says) of a spoiled child. And very little is more repugnant or dangerous than the ethics and values of a child in the body of a man.

His actions in his wife's house include multiple breakages, shearing a hammer and sickle in her rug, and planting dynamite under her bed, in the hope that she and her new friend will depress the plunger but instead trapping his (ex) mother-in-law. In some farce, like that in many silent films, physical violence is funny, but this is always in a world in which the non-violent material is first established as unreal and exaggerated. The cop's tin lizzie that crashes through the barn and comes out the other side with the farmer on the hood is driven by a cartoon cop and carries a cartoon farmer. *Morgan* is full of real people in a real world. The violence and destruction irrupt into a context that has the feel of high comedy. Therefore, instead of laughing at (for instance) the dynamite explosion, I thought: "Why not send for police or ambulance?" In fact, both arrive later on, thereby certifying retroactively that what happened was not funny.

When he kidnaps his estranged wife and carries her off to the remote countryside, it might have had the air of an extreme romantic action by a man in love, incompetent to deal with the world in worldly ways. What we get instead is an irrational, barbarous act, truly against the girl's wishes, not merely against maidenly demurral. Out in the country, he suddenly realizes the danger he has put himself in and says, "I'm frightened." Only then, after the man is melted and only the scared juvenile remains, does she pity him. This is neither romantic comedy nor knockabout farce; it is pathology.

The ending confirms this yet again. The girl, now remarried and quite pregnant, visits Morgan in the mental hospital and tacitly admits that the child is his. (He has stormed his way into her favors from time to time.) She and we leave him tending flowers in the hospital garden. Where is the frolic in having watched the antics and fantasies of a man who ends up in the asylum where he ought to have begun? Or do the film-makers expect us to credit the tired convolution that madness is the only sanity possible in this world? (Etc., etc., etc. . . .)

Yet even this role, essentially clinical though it is, might have had some charm (as the woman in *Jules and Jim* so powerfully has) if it had been played by an appealing actor. David Warner, who was the unattractive Blifil in *Tom Jones*, is not much more attractive here. He looks like a very rough draft of Peter O'Toole; but he has neither O'Toole's looks nor emotional effect nor careful comedy skill.

His wife is played by Vanessa Redgrave, daughter of Michael, a large and lovely young lady who supplies airiness, chic, and susceptibility in a part that does not require much more. Robert Stephens, an excellent actor, again has an inadequate film role as the art dealer and does not look well in it.

The chief disappointment is in Karel Reisz. This gifted film editor and teacher made a strong feature-film debut with *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, then directed the disastrous remake of *Night Must Fall*. Now comes *Morgan*, which seems to me a thoroughly strained attempt at a flight of high spirits, an arthritic leap into the

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

J. D. Scott *is a British writer currently residing in the United States.* Geoffrey A. Wolff *is book editor of* The Washington Post. Andrei Voznesensky's *poem is from his book* Antiworlds, *to be published next month by Basic Books.*

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blue that uses many familiar devices to help elevate it, nearly all of which fail. One can almost tick off the checklist of tired camera tricks and comedy components: stop-motion, hurried silent-film motion, the animal references, the policeman who plays "potsie" when no one is looking, the burly but good-hearted wrestler. Any potentially fresh point is carefully flattened by Reisz: for example, the use of Karl Marx's memorial bust in Highgate cemetery or the final sight-gag, both of them dwelt on too long. It is all an attempt at ebullience by a man who has little of it in his nature. The effect is heavy and cinematically trite. Insofar as this film says anything at all, it utters a cry for help from the director of *Help!*, Richard Lester, who also made the other Beatles picture and *The Knack*. He would at least have given the texture some sparkle. But Morgan himself would have remained "a suitable case for treatment."

In a letter to this journal (February 26) after the sentencing of the Soviet writers, Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel, I suggested that, because protests to the Soviet government seemed useless, private action might be taken: boycott of Soviet goods and travel and of performances here by Soviet artists. (With the last, I meant box-office boycott – the purely economic aspect – not a denial of personal greeting to visiting artists.) Irate correspondents and even more irate friends have convinced me that the suggestions were impractical – and particularly that the last action could easily work against dissenters like Sinyavsky and Daniel.

If I had any remaining doubts about retracting that letter, they were eliminated by a film called *Cinerama's Russian Adventure*. The picture underscores the need to open every possible means for exchange between the US and the USSR. Not because this two-and-a-half-hour travelogue is good – quite the reverse. Apart from its technical flaws, which are multiple, it is generally tedious and sentimental, both in content and commentary. (Which is spoken by Bing Crosby!)

When I saw *Cinerama's Russian Adventure*, I wanted more people than ever to attend Voznesensky's readings and Oistrakh's concerts. Sinyavsky and Daniel are still in prison; but one does not forget that fact in assuming that they would want us to know more truth about their country today than is in this bland potpourri of troika parties and circuses and ever-smiling peasants.

Stanley Kauffmann

Correspondence

The Kick

Sirs:

In the April 16 issue the author of the note, "The Kick," refers to marijuana as "non-toxic, possibly non-addictive." Marijuana is quite capable of producing in the user a *toxic* psychosis. I have recently treated such a patient. The toxic psychosis produced by marijuana is well described in *The Pharmacologic Basis of Therapeutics*, by Goodman and Gilman. This is the basic and classic textbook of pharmacology.

As to LSD, there is insufficient research over an insufficient amount of time to indicate whether there be lasting toxic effects from this drug. However, the immediate ones are of an acute organic brain syndrome characterized most often by visual hallucinations and indicating the toxic nature of the drug.

Marjorie Jacobson, MD
Chicago, Illinois

"The Kick" is sheer nonsense. LSD is a dangerous drug and its indiscriminate use should be stopped. This potent hallucinogen is responsible for an epidemic of drug-induced psychosis in New York City, and this constitutes considerably more of a menace than "an old-fashioned boozy college weekend," as your article suggests.

Your statement that there is little clinical evidence of permanent harm due to LSD is contrary to the accumulating reports that this agent may indeed cause serious mental disturbances long after its use is discontinued. This, to our minds, is permanent damage. How many acutely psychotic, hallucinating, and potentially dangerous people would be required to convince the author of this article that strict control of LSD is

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needed? We agree entirely that "recognizing society's major disease" which leads to the use of these agents is crucial. But this is armchair polemics at best. If the writer would leave this armchair to take a look at the admitting office at Bellevue's psychiatry division, he might come to realize that first things should come first. In medicine, diagnosis, treatment, and convalescence are only needed when prevention fails.

Andrew G. Plaut, MD
Sherwod L. Gorbach, MD
Boston, Mass.

. . . Your note seems to suggest that these folk might well give a try to LSD or marijuana without expectation of any serious harm, a point of view that is in dangerous error, pharmacologically speaking. Admittedly, until a year or so ago there was very little clinical information regarding pharmacological effects from these drugs. That information which was available came principally from small selected studies some of which had conflicting and equivocal results. (It is of interest that this is in contrast to studies done elsewhere in the world where hallucinogens have been in use for a long time by habituated and addicted populations not subject to social controls heretofore in effect in this country.) In the past year, however, with increasing numbers of individuals in this country having acces to and taking – hallucinogens, a much greater amount of reliable information has become available.

Two features stand out particularly, features of which any would-be user ought to be aware before taking the risk of a "ride" with LSD or a smoke with marijuana. First, it is becoming quite clear that one effect of LSD is to enable the reappearance of psychotic manifestations in the circumstance of another stressful situation long after the "ride" itself. Secondly, marijuana somehow affects that something we call "willpower" in the same peculiar way that other narcotic drugs do, though of course not to the same degree. It does seem to provide the entrée to other drugs, and a very high proportion of marijuana users discover that the camel's nose is already in the tent. In this case, a "pusher" is often riding the camel.

I urge you, therefore, to make it plain that as a responsible voice in a stable society you are not advocating the use of hallucinogens; that the freedom to poison oneself is not some type of personal freedom to be enjoyed without harm to individual and society; and that legal, social and medical controls have a proper place in the management of these potent drugs just as they do in society's management of many other usually less socially potent drugs and medications.

Specific information on this subject is readily available in the current medical literature. I commend in particular the recent report by the Medical Society of the County of New York as a starter.

V. R. Sturtevant, MD
Waterville, Maine

. . . Neither drug can be created as easily as you suggest. I tried to grow "pot," and it simply doesn't flourish in cold damp climates. . . . LSD is not producable with a "souped-up chemistry set." Maybe that is how a really good organic chemist would look at it, but I have talked to several excellent student chemists and they claim that the major item, a vacuum pump, is simply not so easily obtained. It also has to be handled carefully lest the wrong proportion be capsuled, or by-products enter, etc.

It is true that more and more young people are taking the drug; personal experience shows me this. But to say that they do it because they are also surfing, or frugging, etc., is a gross over-simplification. Man, in many societies, has always exercised, danced, and listened to music; these are natural forms of expression. He has not always taken drugs.

To go into the psychology of acidheads would take a book. Personally, I don't seek the inner kick, as you call it, because most of my kicks I get from more conventional sources. LSD has brought me no great insight because any intelligent person who will listen to the opinions of others can readily understand himself and will not need the stimulus of drugs. If he is well-balanced he probably will get no more out of the drug than an interesting perceptual change. It is true that the LSD experience is phenomenal; no one I have spoken to, myself included, has said that the drug didn't far exceed his expectations. This in itself would be

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enough to make people take it again, but purely as an interesting experience and not to escape. Unfortunately LSD has acquired a great many disciples whose function seems to be to dispense a lot of cosmic gobbledygook about nirvana, transcendence, and Zen-like states of mind. Certainly the drug produces these effects, but so do many others. . . .

A medical student friend of mine said that in the psychiatric ward of his hospital, which is connected with the University of Southern California, 15 percent of the patients are associated with LSD. Now of course it can be argued that those who take the drug are on the edge anyway and might just be ready to crack up without ever getting closer to LSD than a field of mouldy rye, but LSD *did* do something reasonably traumatic and semi-permanent to their minds.

Finally, the effects can be terribly unpleasant. I have spent four hours in a state of believing I didn't exist, which was rather frightening. There are also the much-mentioned effects of paranoia which develop, and the induced sense of divinity, which can lead to the disaster of believing that a car on a freeway isn't going to kill you if you step in front of it.

Jonathan Fox
Seattle, Washington

May I point out that millions of Americans daily take the botanical and pharmacologic equivalent of marijuana – and do so legally. Let us examine two items in *Columbia Encyclopedia*, Third Edition. "The ripened female flowers, borne on different plants from the male, contain lupulin, a yellow powder used medicinally as a tonic and soporific and added to beer to impart a bitter flavor," p. 969, under "Hop." "The female flowering tops (the male and female tops are borne on separate plants) are used medicinally (sometimes called *cannabis indica*) and are the sources of marijuana," p. 932, under "Hemp." Botanically, hemp and hop are the only members of the Cannabinacea. They are equally dear to the human race, one legal in Asia and Africa, one legal wherever beer is sold. It is lupulin, not a bitter taste, which makes some men drink 20 cans of beer a day, and makes millions pay more for alcohol as beer than they would pay for it in wine or spirits.

Chemists at Princeton, now busy on marijuana, may one day tell us whatever minor structural differences exist between the substances in the female flowers of these popular plants. Pharmacologists then can tell us what minor differences per milligram there are in their tonic and soporific powers.

William Dock, MD
New York, N.Y.

There are many medical reports of serious, persistent damage [from LSD] – the nature of which is unknown, but which produce observable effects – resulting from the medically unsupervised use of LSD by people out to get high.

Among the most recent of these reports was one appearing in *The New England Journal of Medicine*, one of the country's most respected medical journals, in which a group of physicians at New York City's Bellevue Hospital discussed some of the more serious difficulties of patients brought in under the influence of LSD. It has been found that psychotic behavior often returns a considerable time after the dose of LSD can be expected to have worn off, leading to the suggestion that there is more profound alteration in brain chemistry than we would have thought. There have been documented reports of psychotic episodes involving self-mutilation, dangerous behavior, and violently antisocial activity after LSD ingestion. And, *we* heard reports a few years ago at a psychotherapy congress in Vienna from a number of European and British psychotherapists then using LSD. They warned colleagues in the strongest terms to remain with patients for at least 24 hours after administering the compound because of dangers to the patient and those around him. And, finally, Sandoz Pharmaceuticals, the only manufacturer of LSD in the US, has just recalled all stocks from its clinical experimenters, certainly an action not suggestive of the innocence of this "consciousness-expanding" agent. . . . There is no question that the sentencing of Dr. Leary to prison was brutal and stupid, that marijuana is blown up all out of proportion (though there is now evidence that marijuana is harmful), and that we need a complete and total overhaul of the nation's nar-

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cotics laws, which should lead to treatment and prevention of addiction, rather than persecution of addicts. . . .

Peter and Margery Albertson
New York, N.Y.

Progress in Baltimore

Sirs:

Too bad that Gerald W. Johnson is so modest about his hometown of Baltimore ("Baltimore Might Make It," April 9). Your readers ought to know that Baltimore is making a much more heroic effort at self-improvement than his article indicates. The city is engaged in 18 urban renewal projects, with a federal commitment of more than $71 million and a local government commitment of at least half again that amount.

In addition, the city is involved in two projects where it has purchased open land, to provide more than 100 acres of green space, at a total cost of $2.1 million, of which the city paid 70 percent. And nothing is said about the $6 million Harlem Park project, a 40-acre pilot undertaking to rehabilitate an area consisting mainly of lower income families. . . .

Mr. Johnson is also too modest about the contribution of the federal government to Charles Center. Rather than the "one office building . . . plus reimbursement to the city of part of its expense in rebuilding streets and relocating utilities," the Department of Housing and Urban Development has committed nearly $26 million to Charles Center.

His claim that Baltimore's "placing among the office buildings in Charles Center the first legitimate theater erected outside of New York in 30 years," does not jibe with such post-1936 legitimate theaters as Arena Stage, in Washington, D.C.'s Southwest urban renewal project; the Tyrone Guthrie Theater in Minneapolis; and theaters are planned or under construction in urban renewal projects in Chicago, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Detroit, Providence, Miami, San Jose, Tulsa, Hartford, Fresno, Williamsport, and in the New York cities of Binghamton, White Plains, Rochester, and New Rochelle.

Sydney H. Kasper
Urban Renewal Administration
Washington, D.C.

Gerald W. Johnson's article was an excellent description of the downtown Baltimore renaissance. Regrettably, the article failed to mention that Charles Center was made possible through a $26 million federal Title I urban renewal grant; that a public body, the Baltimore Housing and Urban Renewal Agency, was responsible for carrying out the project; and that a great deal of the credit for its success must go to its Executive Director, Richard Steiner (who once served as the federal Urban Renewal Commissioner). These omissions are particularly regrettable in view of the usually antagonistic tone of articles on urban renewal published in your journal. It is about time people stopped ignoring the incredibly constructive role which urban renewal is playing in the rebuilding of so many of our American cities, among which are Boston, Providence, New Haven, Newark, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Atlanta, Milwaukee, and Minneapolis, to name just a few.

It is true that, in spite of recent advances, urban renewal is still unable to solve all of the slum problems of our major cities. To a large extent, this is due to the gross inadequacy of the federal resources allocated to renewal in relation to the cities' needs. All the projects which are so significantly changing urban America have cost the federal government less than $1.5 billion to date, at an average annual rate of only about $100 million.

Nathaniel J. Parish
White Plains, N.Y.

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Colonel McCormick and Versailles

Sirs:

May I as an alumna of Robert R. McCormick's *Chicago Tribune* Paris Bureau shed light on the "mystery" which perhaps Frank C. Waldrop's effort ("Correspondence," March 12) was not quite "valiant" enough to solve.

How the Versailles Treaty came into McCormick's hands was known to virtually all the Paris contingent of the thirties who succeeded the *Trib's* wartime correspondent, Frazier (Spike) Hunt. When I gathered material for a book about Paris newsdom between the wars, I checked some of the *Trib's* "legends" for the facts. Frazier Hunt wrote me confirming that a Chinese diplomat, disgruntled over treaty terms, wanted them known to the world and brought them to the then chief of the *Tribune* bureau in Paris.

But realistic newsmen were aware that "diplomats" consider themselves possessors of a kind of "poetic license" to deny printed facts. . . . Spike Hunt wished to risk neither garbled transmission nor his Paris beat; as Spearman Lewis [of the Paris *Tribune* staff] planned a US trip, Hunt entrusted Lewis with delivery of the treaty into the Colonel's hands.

Carol Weld
Coconut Grove, Fla.

Accommodating Whites

Sirs:

My congratulations to Mr. Christopher Jencks ("Accommodating Whites," April 16) for an uncannily insightful and penetrating presentation of the basic issues, hopes and problems of the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

Perhaps I would make one small correction. The planning for a pre-school program in Mississippi based in local communities and run by the people themselves preceeded the announcement of Project Head Start, and was well on its way when the OEO program became known to us.

Through the persuasive intervention of Mrs. Polly Greenberg (then Southeast Regional Analyst for Head Start) we were directed toward the possibili-

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ties of an OEO grant. The immense needs of the poor children of Mississippi, the sincerity and support of many people in OEO persuaded us to attempt the larger strategy involved in a federally sponsored program.

As Mr. Jencks points out, a real poverty program for the poor of Mississippi cannot come about without political power. Yet the road to political power cannot come through an abstract injunction to vote. The motivation for the poor of Mississippi to vote must be rooted in an awareness of its effect upon immediate environment and an investment in a clear reality goal. CDGM provided such motivation. The civil rights movement has provided the larger social awareness. The success of the CDGM program clearly mandates that those groups with a real "prior concern" with the disadvantaged, *particularly the civil rights movement*, are the most effective vehicle for a real poverty program.

Mr. Jencks has aptly delineated how conservative political pressure can constrain an effective poverty program. I would only wish to add that effective political pressure can also save the war on poverty. The CDGM program itself built enough political support to gain its re-funding.

Tom Levin
(formerly, Director – Child Development Group of Mississippi)

The California Democratic Council

Sirs:

Neither Robert A. Rutland (April 16) nor any Easterner, nor, for that matter Jesse Unruh himself, can understand California politics without understanding the California Democratic Council.

The power sources of most polticos in California are easily identifiable. California is a growing state. Increased revenues and need for legislation puts power in the legislature. Jesse Unruh has the power of committee appointment in the legislature. So when he holds a fund-raising dinner, lots of people perforce attend. Lots of money is raised. Unruh can contribute from this fund to elections in the hustings. So a circle of power is created. If you understand this and also understand that Unruh is basically a liberal, you understand one of the great centers of individual power in California.

The Democratic State Committee is appointed by the party nominees. Most Democratic nominees are incumbent legislators. The State Committee, which in the lean years of the Democratic party was full of verve and ingenuity and fight, is now understandably attentive to its parent – the legislature – and is as conservative or liberal as the Democratic legislature leads it to be.

CDC's power is not so easy to trace. . . . It is based on the local Democratic Club. Standards for clubs are statewide and stringent. The club must have broad local membership base; it must meet regularly; it must be composed of registered Democrats; it must have a history of activity so as not to be a "paper" organization. By representative methods uniform through the State, Congressional district clubs elect "Directors" who meet regularly and actively to attend to the ongoing CDC work. Every year the clubs send representatives to a State CDC Convention, under strict delegate procedures. The convention includes all Democratic elected officials and legislators as well as representatives of the State Committee and of County Committees. . . .

The CDC is not the offspring of the legislature. The power is in a lot of people out in the far corners of California. No one can speak for CDC as politicos can traditionally speak for power groups such as State Committees, legislators, or eastern-style machines.

One thing is certain, Rutland's innuendos to the contrary: the CDC membership approves the leadership Governor Brown has been giving this state in its manifold expansion and bursting population, and on primary election day, June 1966, CDC membership will be out hustling up votes for the Democratic governor they endorsed.

Steve Zetterberg
Claremont, Calif.

Mr. Zetterberg, was democratic candidate for Congress against Richard Nixon and Pat Hillings. He has been a member of the Democratic State Central Committee and its executive committee, and of the Directors of CDC and of its executive committee.

The Editors

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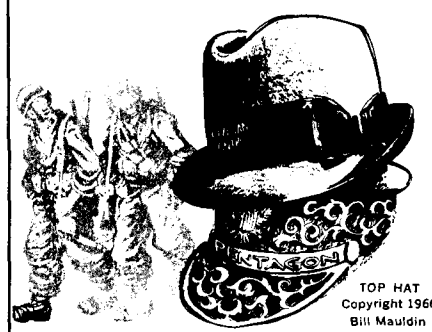
American Veterans Committee
speak for you?



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